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ABSTRACT

Long-range demographic trends, enrollment patterns, and current decisions about program evaluation and collective bargaining all have a bearing on what higher education will do in the next decade. In answer to the question of whether or not higher education will be ready for the 1980's, topics discussed are: (1) demographic change and southern education; (2) demographic trends in the next decade; (3) education and the world of work; (4) program evaluation; (5) academic program review at the state level; (6) compensatory education; (7) collective bargaining; and (8) accreditation. Included in the reported proceedings is a chairman's address by Virginia Governor Mills E. Goodwin. (Author/KE)

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Educational Reporting in the Seventies

Proceedings of the 20th WRB Legislative Work Conference
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SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD 130 SIXTH ST., N.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30313

WILL HIGHER EDUCATION BE READY FOR THE EIGHTIES?

25th SREB Legislative Work Conference
July 28-30, 1976

Annapolis Hilton Inn.
Annapolis, Maryland

PRICE: $2.00 SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD 130 SIXTH ST., N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30313

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FOREWORD

Planning for the uncertainties of the 1980's while grappling with today's problems — this is the dilemma facing educators, legislators, and others involved in higher education. Long-range demographic trends and enrollment patterns have a profound bearing on what higher education will be like in the next decade, but so do current decisions about program evaluation and collective bargaining.

Southern legislators faced this dual agenda for higher education when they met in Annapolis, Maryland, for SREB's 25th Legislative Work Conference to discuss "Will Higher Education Be Ready for the 1980's?" The Legislative Work Conference is an annual forum for Southern legislators to consider problems, issues, and potential for higher education in the region.

Higher education in the 1980's will be influenced greatly by population trends and emerging life-style patterns of society. The need for demographic planning information is critical for the South as it will continue to experience significant changes in population, migration patterns, and industrial development. These shifts have implications for postsecondary education. Everett Lee of the University of Georgia discussed demographic changes with legislators and on the basis of these factors argued that the latest characterization of the South as the "New South" may be the most accurate ever.

Commenting on higher education's response to demographic trends, Herbert Hollomon of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology suggested that the students' perception of the economic value of college attendance will be a critical factor in the future. He believes there is a declining economic value of a college degree and explained its causes and consequences for higher education and the nation.

The continuing discussion of the appropriate roles for general or liberal education and vocational education in America's colleges and universities will shape higher education's future to a great extent. This dialogue is not new, but the growing gap between the numbers of college degree holders and the kinds and numbers of jobs available has added to this controversy. A session on "Education and the World of Work" provided a forum for two persons who approach this topic from different perspectives. Willard Wirtz, former secretary of labor and now president of the National Manpower Institute, and Fred Ness, president of the Association of American Colleges, discussed the problems of linking education and work and proposed changes.

Education's future also hinges on decisions about issues in today's spotlight. SREB's Legislative Advisory Council identified program evaluation, compensatory education, collective bargaining, and accrediting as areas facing decision-makers currently. Specific sessions at the Legislative Work Conference dealt with these areas.

As legislatures are confronted with increasingly difficult appropriations decisions, they are turning to program evaluation to determine how well state services are working. Higher education is one of those services undergoing this scrutiny. Emmett Fields of the State University of New York at Albany shared with legislators a case study of institutional program evaluation at SUNY-Albany where nearly one-sixth of the degree programs were terminated. Gordon Davies of the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia described the limitations and potential of program evaluation and the role of a state higher education agency in judging effectiveness.

Compensatory education at the college level is a recent phenomenon in higher education but not unrelated to the continuing problem spotlighted in mass media feature stories on "why can't Johnny read or write?" In describing the scope of the remedial problem, John Roueche of the University of Texas claimed that remedial efforts have been generally unsuccessful, but he indicated that a few colleges are solving the remedial problem.

Collective bargaining in higher education has been an issue for years and by most accounts will be an issue in the 1980's. While only one member state of SREB has collective bargaining for higher education faculty, the matter has been discussed before nearly every legislature. Theodore Mitau of the Minnesota State University System outlined the pivotal points in the bargaining debate and noted how state legislatures are, or may be, involved in the bargaining process.

The accrediting process for higher education institutions is generally well established, but changes in higher education and publicity about fraudulent actions by some institutions have focused attention on accrediting agencies. Kenneth Young of the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation described the purposes of accrediting but cautioned that the process cannot monitor financial soundness or integrity of an institution on a day-to-day basis.

SREB hopes that the discussions at Annapolis, and this account of the presentations made at the conference will help higher education decision-makers to be ready for the 1980's.

Winfred L. Godwin
President

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND SOUTHERN EDUCATION

Everett S. Lee*

In projecting the population of the South the most important problem is not one of data or of technique, but one that has intrigued historians and journalists for decades. Is there, or is there not a New South? For smaller areas another question arises. Are the flight from the central cities and the new attractiveness of nonmetropolitan areas for population and industry temporary phenomena, or do they portend a lasting reversal of traditional patterns of growth?

South of Washington, D. C. it is almost heresy to advance these questions. We must remember, however, that every generation since the Revolution has envisioned a New South. Washington and Jefferson wanted one without tobacco; later statesmen wanted one without cotton; now there are those who want a South without cotton mills. So many generations have seen a New South emerging and so many have mistaken cycles for trends that we should consider the possibility of a return to older patterns of growth and distribution. We have not as yet recovered from our great recession, and it is sobering to note the similarities of recent population movements to those of the Great Depression.

"Recognition of a New South is implicit in the population movements of the last few years."

Then, as now, zero population growth appeared imminent. There were, in fact, areas in which there were more deaths than births, as there are now in counties scattered throughout the country. There was net migration from the cities to the land, and the South, as it has regularly done in depressed periods, grew more rapidly than the nation. Then, as now, there was the economic nightmare of a sharp decrease in the rate and number of births and a great swelling in the number of new workers. Recall, too, that monetary policy was no more successful then than now, and that it was war, not economic planning, that rescued us from the depression. Also remember that when prosperity returned, the birth rate soared and the old currents of migration were re-established.

Throughout the 1950's and into the 1960's it appeared that the South was to remain the nation's number one economic problem, as it was dubbed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a position it maintained by remaining the "seedbed of the nation". Given its lack of good universities, its inability to raise the level of its children to the same level of scholastic achievement as the rest of the nation, and given continued losses of its better educated youth to other regions, what more could be expected? The South was still a region of underdeveloped natural and human resources.

But so much has happened in the last few years. The adventure in Viet Nam has dragged through to its startling conclusion. Oil has become precious, and power – in Alvin Weinberg's words, the ultimate resource – has become expensive and in short supply. Faced with the same even handed justice that prevailed in Mississippi and Alabama, Detroit and Boston fell far short of their announced principles. Newark moved from one crisis to another and New York had to be saved from bankruptcy by federal intervention. Riots in Watts and the mindless slaughter in San Francisco dimmed even the lure of the West.

On the other hand, Southern women now appear as reluctant to produce offspring as other American women, allowing greater investments of money and adult time in the rearing and education of children. The South still lags in educational spending but it has achieved the critical mass of high school graduates that is essential if the industrial base is to be transformed from textiles, wood and food products into higher paying activities. Much of its professional and business leadership is still imported, but the South has demonstrated an appeal for the Northerners and Westerners who flock to Atlanta and Dallas and provide direction for new undertakings. At long last, there does seem to be a New South, one that suffers much less in comparison with the New North and the New West.

Recognition of a New South is implicit in the population movements of the last few years. For a long time the South maintained a nearly constant share of the national population – just under a third – by balancing its migration losses with high fertility. However, from 1970 to 1975 the South accounted for almost 55 percent of the growth of the nation – 5,300,000 out of the 9,800,000 total. Florida alone grew by 1,600,000 and exceeded the increase for the entire Northeastern and North Central States. For the South as a whole, the rate of growth was 75 percent higher than that for the nation.

The change in migration patterns is even more revealing. Traditionally, the South lost population to every other region, but in the late 1950's the pattern began to change. During the 1960's the South became a net gainer of whites though it continued to lose blacks. Currently the South is

*Dr. Lee is professor of sociology at the University of Georgia.

a heavy gainer of whites through migration and there appears to be a slight gain of blacks. Certainly it is true that the heavy losses of black population sustained in the 1950's and 1960's no longer occur.

Migration, of course, occurs in opposing streams. From 1970 to 1975 about 2 million people left the South but 4 million moved in, a net gain of almost 2 million. During the same period the Northeastern and North Central States were each losing more than 1 million persons through migration, while the West, long the leader in migration gains, had a net migration of only 70,000. On balance the South gained white migrants from every other region. More than a third of the South's total increase was through migration – an extraordinary change from earlier times when the South lost millions of people to other regions.

Why do I indulge my Southern chauvinism instead of proceeding directly to projections for the next two decades? The answer is very simple. There are no longer major differences in mortality and fertility from one region to another and the differences between central cities, suburbs,

". . . from 1970 to 1975 the South accounted for almost 55 percent of the growth of the nation."

and rural areas are also disappearing. Differences in growth are therefore due to differences in migration. Furthermore, there are no real difficulties in projecting state and local populations for a short period or for segments of a population for a long period, except for migration.

Over a short period projections of the population of college age are simple indeed. For all practical purposes we may take the number of births this year, allow for the same number of places in the first grade six years later, and continue the procedure through the college ages. Of children born today, 98 percent will survive through the fifth year, 97 percent will reach 18, and 95 percent will be alive at age 35, at which age we may hope that migration will be complete. The overestimates that will result are well within the allowance that should be made for error. Through 1994 almost all of the children who will enter college are already born, and to continue our calculations to the turn of the century requires the estimation of births for only a few years.

Even so, fertility is harder to predict than mortality, as demographers who made projections in the 1930's have warned us. However, we have been collecting data on birth expectations for several years and it appears that these data are good predictors of fertility, at least in the short run. It seems that we may expect the birth rate to remain about what it is now for some time. However, because the number of women of childbearing age is increasing, we may expect an increase in the number of births until about 1985. For the South as a whole the increase will be on the order of 300,000, a number that will be very nearly offset by an increasing number of deaths in a growing and aging population.

From one state to another and from city to countryside there is an increasing similarity of birth rate. Projections of birth rates by age of women indicate that white women now entering the childbearing age will have no more than 1.8 children each as compared with the 2.1 necessary to maintain the population, a shortfall of 14 percent. Birth rates remain higher for blacks, but blacks with high school education or more want no more and have no more children than whites. For blacks, too, zero population growth is in the offing, delayed mostly by inferior education and by teenage childbearing. By age 15 two percent of black girls have already had a child. For other groups, also, unwanted children are increasingly a problem of the teens. Illegitimacy is a major problem, accounting for six percent of all children and 38 percent of black children. However, it appears that bearing a child very early does not necessarily mean that excessive childbearing will continue throughout the fertile period. Despite high rates of teenage pregnancy, there are only scattered groups with high overall

Dr. Lee

rates of fertility. Chief among these are the Spanish American's, Cubans not included.

Because the birth rate has fallen so precipitously while the crude death rate for an aging population rises, the redistribution of population throughout the country may proceed more rapidly than in the past. Many areas that are losing population through migration are also losing population because deaths outnumber births. Such is now the case with the county of New York which has been losing population through net out-migration for almost half a century. Pittsburgh also has more deaths than births and natural decrease of white population is becoming the rule in central cities. The open countryside, also, frequently has more deaths than births, and the suburbs are now the "seedbed of the nation". One of the inevitable features of zero population growth will be a concentration of childbearing in a very small part of the country, most likely that part which is also most attractive to migrants. Relatively high rates of growth in small areas may be accompanied by the depopulation of an area larger than all of Europe.

Even so, the overall distribution of population will not change greatly. Fifty-five percent of the population now lives within fifty miles of the coast or the Great Lakes and 60 percent live in the one percent of the nation that is classified as urbanized – that is in those densely

". . . the overall distribution of population will not change greatly."

settled areas that center around central cores of 50,000 or more population. Cities are not dead but their hearts may now be in suburbs. There are no new independent cities and little prospect for additional suburbs of the Columbia and Reston type. As someone remarked, "We do have a population distribution policy; one that is concrete. It is called the interstate highway system."

Have I forgotten that there are "turnaround counties", those that are now growing after periods of decline? Are we not told that industry and population are invading nonmetropolitan counties? All true, but the net shift is small. Much of the shift in population and industry is to areas just beyond the bounds of metropolitan areas, and some of the newly growing counties are retirement or resort areas. Growth is still concentrated in the suburbs and is, fortunately, more gradual than formerly.

There is a dark side to the redistribution of population and socioeconomic activity, however. The central cities are being drained of industry and people and, in particular, of the middle class and their undertakings. The line of mayors that is forming behind Abraham Beame to press the needs of the central cities upon the federal administration that will take office next January will be a long one, and will likely contain the mayor of Atlanta as well as the mayor of San Francisco. The changing form of the city is one of the forces behind the rise of federal power and the intervention of the courts into local affairs. The principle of federalism, as we have known it, is threatened by the decline of the central city and the emptying out of rural areas. Certainly the Balkanization of the great cities must soon be addressed and it seems likely that the courts and the federal government, rather than state legislatures, will determine the new political and administrative structures.

Educational planners at local levels and those concerned with city and community colleges will be faced with the possibility of drastic changes in demand and shifts in the composition of their client populations. The populations of central cities are becoming increasingly black, and remaining whites are aging. It is not the *in*migration of blacks that is the chief agent of this development; instead it is the *out*migration of whites and the not overly excessive natural increase of a young black population. The magnitude of white flight is perhaps best understood if we compare place of birth and later residence. Washington, D. C. is an alarming example. By the age of five, 90 percent of the white children born in that city have left, and by age 10, the proportion is 95 percent. No other city is like Washington, but few cities are entirely different in that respect.

It would take a long time to spell out the nature and meaning of foreseeable population changes. For states and for smaller areas the patterns will be diverse and must be left for separate projections. However, we may note certain developments that are general in nature and of great importance in the planning of higher education.

In the first place, there are shifts in age composition which will affect both the size of the college age population and labor force participation. In the next few years the population of college age will continue to grow, but eventually the fall in the birth rate will make itself felt. The number of 18-year-olds will remain at the current 4.2 million until 1981 and will fall to 3.2 million in 1992, after which it will rise again. Those aged 18-21 – the nearest we can come to a college age population – today a little less than 17 million, will not fall below 16 million until 1984 and will reach a low of 13.4 million in 1993. Both the groups aged 22-24 and 25-29 – those most likely to attend graduate or professional schools – will increase until about 1985. These changes are not as important as the changes in enrollment ratios if Southerners become as likely to enter college as are youngsters elsewhere. If, for example, the South were to become like Utah, the demand for college training would be overwhelming.

There will be a slight increase in the proportion of blacks in the college age population but this will be unimportant as compared with the rise in enrollment ratio. Even while the proportion of young white males in college has been dropping, that of young blacks has been increasing. The recession and the end of the draft brought about a sharp decrease in the proportion of white males enrolled in college but the opposite was true of blacks, and particularly for low income blacks. In 1970, for example, 11 percent of dependent blacks aged 18-24 in families with less than $5000 in annual income were enrolled in college; in 1974 the proportion was 15 percent. Among whites with such incomes, the proportion fell from 21 to 16 percent. Also, the enrollment of females continues to increase and at ages 25 and over is especially sharp. The demand for specialized training for older persons is clearly on the rise.

The proportion actually attending college is, of course, a function of family income and parental education. As family income rises, the proportion going to college rises; and the relationship is even more marked as education of parents rises. This is of greatest importance in the South where each succeeding generation of parents is better educated than the previous generation. The South also has rising income, relative to the rest of the nation, and in the cities the gap is closing rapidly. It may well be that the South, now a region of inmigration, with income rising in actual and relative terms, and with parents who are themselves well educated, will have a boom in the demand for higher education. If the recession is ending, the South will have the means and, it appears, the will to cease what Ralph McGill called "the sacrifice of its children".

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN THE NEXT DECADE: WHAT THEY MEAN FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

J. Herbert Hollomon*

Future predictions are always risky, if not impossible, but I will present some of my own expectations regarding higher education based on extrapolations from past history and experience, upon which, after all, predictions are necessarily based.

First, to clarify my position, I believe college and higher education serve functions other than providing the tools for procuring employment. Higher education supplies many of the essentials for a more cultured, intellectual and emotionally mature existence. Yet in our society, as in all others, the university graduate does ultimately go to work. Even more significant, decisions as to selection of institutions and the level of training toward which to aim are determined by the employment prospects and rewards connected with that employment. An examination of the recent past reveals the strong influence of those prospects on those decisions.

". . . we had not proportionately increased the number of college-trained jobs required in the economy as we had been doing for previous decades."

In analyzing the background of our present situation, I will discuss it in terms of the nation as a whole, since a sectional study for the Southern region has not been done. (Let me add that I would agree with the earlier comments that the rate of economic growth of the South and Southwest appears to be the most dynamic in the country.)

A review of the past (roughly from 1950 to 1975) indicates a change in the rewards of college-going. First, the return on college investment has dropped from about 12 percent to 6 percent in recent years. If one examines college-going as an investment of money on the part of the state and the individual, the average return has been less than most of us would accept as a modest return on a stock market investment. It has been no better and, in many cases, significantly worse. To reinforce these assertions with specific data – the real starting salaries of college graduates in the social sciences and humanities from 1969 to 1975 dropped about 25 percent. For mathematics graduates, the real starting salaries decreased 21 percent. And for Ph. D. physicists, real starting salaries during that period fell 35 percent. The demand for college graduates in these areas was sufficiently decreased relative to the supply so that the prices paid for that particular commodity fell; that market behavior is typical of the American educational system.

Another important factor is that in 1969, 24 percent of all jobs in the United States could be classified as professional and managerial, and in 1974-75, 24 percent of the jobs still were professional or managerial. That is, we had not proportionately increased the number of college-trained jobs required in the economy as we had been doing for previous decades. In 1972, 30 percent of all college graduates in the United States entered jobs which were non-professional and non-managerial. According to some sociologists who study these trends, they were underemployed. In 1958, only 10 percent of such graduates entered jobs for which they were not trained.

What caused this circumstance? The fact is that the returns on the investment of the education dollar – the relative salaries of the college-trained – fell with respect to the relative income of others, (and, by the way, this is particularly true among Ph.D.'s in the social sciences, except economics, and humanities.) There was an enormous increase in the demand for college-trained people between 1950 (following World War II) and about 1967. This increase resulted from several factors: (1) the great growth of elementary and secondary schools in the United States leading to the need for more teachers; (2) the expansion of what I would call the sophisticated industries (electronics, avionics, nuclear power) brought about by the huge active space and defense programs of the country; (3) the great strides in our science and technology – research and development; (4) finally, the inevitable cyclic self-sustaining reaction – the increased demand for highly trained people; thus the increased demand for teachers of college students which, in turn, again increases the demand for the highly-trained, and so on. To put it in a statistical framework, of all the Ph.D. physicists graduating in the 1960's, 65 percent went back to teach more Ph.D. physicists. But as the demand for Ph.D. physicists wanes, so does the demand for teachers. And the self-sustaining character of that phenomenon is, I think, catastrophic.

I was in Brazil about two months ago and observed something that illustrates what I have outlined above. The University of Brasilia advertised for an American Ph.D. physicist on the assistant professorship level. There were 165 applicants from the United States for that opening.

*Dr. Hollomon is professor of engineering and director of the Center for Policy Alternatives at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The market had been flooded with highly qualified and trained people due to the enormous expansion throughout the United States of activities requiring personnel with four years of college and frequently with graduate school background. In turn, there was increased demand for the same calibre of persons to produce this manpower – with bachelor's, master's, and Ph.D. degrees. Academic institutions were anxious to supplement their undergraduate programs with graduate programs, but it was a response to the market needs as well as a desire for prestige. During the period from 1950 to 1967, the relative real wages of the college graduate increased 30 percent compared to the non-academic average worker. In other words he became more valuable than the average worker and his relative salary rose substantially. The relative salaries for professors rose during the same period because of the high demand for people to teach in the colleges and universities.

". . . the decline in college attendance which is expected in the mid and late 1980's . . . will begin far sooner than that, and the fall-off in the 1980's will not be as severe as most education analysts would predict."

By 1967 through 1970 all the factors which contributed to the unusual call for college graduates began to disappear. The rate of growth for the sophisticated industries that employed large numbers of professional and managerial types was not as high as was anticipated and, as soon as their growth declined, the demand for professionals also declined.

Secondly, the federal budget for research and development was actually reduced in the country.

Thirdly, the consequences of the lower birth rate began to be felt on the educational system, diminishing the need for elementary and secondary school teachers. We certificate, even today, many thousands more people to teach in elementary and secondary schools than there are possible jobs.

Therefore, we can go back to 1969 – long before the depression of 1973 – for evidence of the decline in college-going. And this decline occurred primarily among white males, not among women or blacks. I don't believe this can be attributed to the cessation of the Viet Nam war, which the following figures will bear out. In 1974 there were 600,000 more white males aged 18-19 than there had been in 1970, but there were 135,000 fewer in college. White male enrollment in higher education fell from approximately 44 percent of all high school graduates to 34 percent in six years. This did not occur among blacks and I feel one of the reasons it did not is due to the job advantages for blacks who finished college as a result of the pressures to introduce blacks into the regular economic market. Second, the relative value of a college degree over a high school degree for blacks is substantially greater than it is for white males. With respect to women, the picture is not quite as clear. I have some general notion that the publicizing and emotional appeal of the women's movement indicating that there will be a greater number of job opportunities for college-trained women, whether true or not, has greatly promoted the participation of women in college education. For the first time in the United States there now are more women in college than there are men – about six percent more, compared to five years ago when there were 16 percent more men than women in college.

What do we foresee for the future? First, and again this applies to the country as a whole and not specifically to the Southern region, there will be far fewer demands for teachers in the elementary and secondary schools. Teaching has traditionally been one of the major job opportunities for college graduates, especially among women.

Secondly, no economic scenario that I'm aware of would point to a growth – anywhere close to the growth of the 1950's and 1960's – in the industries that hire large fractions of management and professional personnel.

Dr. Hollomon

Thirdly, the investment in technical activities which demand large numbers of professionally trained people will not match at all the budgets allotted from 1953 to 1967. And since the demand for people with graduate training declines, so does the need for faculties to educate those people.

Overall, therefore, I would argue that, looking at the country as a whole (not necessarily for all of the South) from a purely economic perspective and making the assumption that we will come out of the recession, the demand for college educated people will decline for the next five or ten years. The fraction of those going to college will be less than demographic arguments would predict because the value of college-going will be judged not worth the ticket. Therefore, the decline in college attendance which is expected in the mid and late 1980's due to demographic reasons (that is, a smaller number in the college-age group) will begin far sooner than that, and the fall-off in the 1980's will not be as severe as most education analysts would predict. To be precise, the relative number of young people that go on to college mainly for the purpose of job preparation will decline and that will overshoot the mark, so that by the 1980's there will be fewer young people in college. However, this will mean more job opportunities and, therefore, more youngsters will again be going to

college than one would normally expect from the population.

Now if this argument is accurate, one fact that has to be explained is why enrollments in college increased last September for the first time – if not tremendously, at least in a significant way. I argue that the reasons have to do with the current economic climate. In a recession, employment for high school graduates is virtually unavailable so, confronted with the choice of unemployment or going to college (particularly a community college), the youngster selects the second option, which prepares him at the same time for a better job. The fact is that the recession raised the value of a college degree.

". . . the graduate education system of the United States, on purely job-based arguments, is greatly over-expanded."

What then are the consquences for the country? Clearly one is that the graduate education system of the United States, on purely job-based arguments, is greatly over-expanded. Secondly, and perhaps unlike the predictions for the South, upward mobility and social mobility may be different, at least in some parts of the country in which children of highly educated parents will be less educated than their fathers and mothers. Fewer of them will go to college. Thirdly, if the higher education system does not expand rapidly, the opportunity for upward social mobility will have been closed to some and there will be great pressures by groups of people to demand rights and privileges other than through the education system.

The slowdown in growth of higher education, if it takes place in the country generally, will obviously strengthen the movement toward unionization and rigidity of jobs. The enormous number of highly trained people being produced by the educational system would, on the other hand, give the opportunity for educators to upgrade their faculty. The people who are now on the job market – literally hundreds of Ph.D.'s in education, literature, history, physics, chemistry – are better trained than current faculty at some of the educational institutions of the country. If the system were not rigid, it would allow the upgrading and improvement of that education. I would argue also that in the 30-40 age group, the number of people going back for some sort of higher education has increased tremendously in the last decade and that one of the opportunities of higher education, to alleviate some of its problems of no growth in number of normal college-age youngsters, is to provide greater and more flexible opportunities for regular and special education for the adult.

It is my view that, for the country as a whole (not necessarily for the Southern region), the lack of growth in the demand for college-trained people compared to their supply for the next few years will produce a situation where fewer white males (though not blacks) will opt for college. Secondly, there will be underemployment among those who are graduated from colleges and universities. And thirdly, great pressures will be applied on higher education to maintain a viable program in a period of no growth or retraction.

Now I think that this is less true for the South and Southwest for the reasons I have already stated. But I know of no economic human resource analysis that would provide the basis for prognostication for your region, particularly of the kind discussed for the country as a whole. I would predict that for the first time (except during the 1929-1940 depression years) we will face a period of a decade or two in this country as a whole in which there will be no growth in higher education; the consequences of that prospect to the structure, organization, and funding of higher education are, at least, disquieting.

EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Willard Wirtz*

It becomes clear that there is a gnawing problem about the interrelationship of education and work: three elements in this situation seem to me worth particular attention.

There is, to begin, a serious question today – for the first time in American history – of whether the economy needs or wants or is going to use that degree of education which young people are now bringing to it, and whether, indeed, that economy even wants the *number* of young people we are feeding into it. If either of these doubts is well-founded, particularly the second, our thinking this situation through must be in new, rather than old, terms.

Of course, the broader question is whether the economy is any longer going to supply jobs for *all* of the people who are available for work. I'll make the point at further risk by suggesting that even the relatively unsatisfactory situation we have now, which shows a seven-and-a-half percent unemployment rate, is attained only by turning more and more able older people out to pasture earlier and earlier, and keeping more and more able young people out of the "labor market" longer and longer. There is a tightening up of the offering of work at both ends.

Add one other terribly important factor here: women are today only 39 percent of the work force. We have guaranteed to them in writing that they are entitled to 50 percent of the jobs. As they proceed now to pick up that guarantee, the whole employment situation will tighten, especially so far as young people are concerned. Women have the votes; they have the equities; they have the promise; they have every reason to do exactly what they are now about to do, and they're going to do it.

There is another aspect of this general economics point. We have in the past always thought about unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular in terms of their being essentially cyclical, requiring that we take only emergency measures until the economy reinvigorates itself, at which point our unemployment problems will go away. Not this time. The only set of figures I even pretend to understand seems to me to indicate strongly that even if the economy gets back to what is, by every other economic indicator, a satisfactory state, unemployment is going to continue for the foreseeable future in this country at about its present level – unless we do something very different about it. I would be even more certain that the present *youth* employment figure is going to remain at about its present level.

This leads to the second point. Always before, when education and work have appeared to be getting out of kilter, we have looked at *education* to see how it ought to be changed in order to meet whatever the unemployment or the work needs are. I guess I think that what's going on now may very well suggest that the present problem of youth unemployment and youth underemployment is not anything which can be met sufficiently by changes in the educational system. Now if that's true, again, we need to approach this situation differently from the way we have approached it before. Education is, to be sure, a preparatory process; if for some reason or other there are now no longer needs for particular kinds of training and there are larger needs for other kinds, we should, by all means, make the appropriate adjustments. But that isn't going to do it this time, and if we rely too much on that approach, we're going to do some things to education it would be a great mistake to do, for they wouldn't be worth the price they would cost.

". . . the question must be faced of whether the economy wants either the total number of young people who are coming along or the education they are bringing with them."

Finally then, and very briefly, assuming the first two points – that the unemployment prospect now is of a very different nature from what it has been before, and the problem cannot be met entirely by changes in education – what is the answer? Let me only try to suggest the area in which I think the answer lies, the drawer, if you will, in which we may find the key to other drawers. I suspect that our minds are shackled beyond our realization by the traditional talk about everything's being either education or work – so that we think in terms of doing whatever is to be done here either by changing work (which as a matter of fact we take as a given), or by changing education.

It is probably time to start thinking about the possibility that there is necessarily going to be a new form of transitional program here of one kind or another which may partake some of education and some of work, but which may be quite different from both.

Most major employers in this country have now stopped hiring anybody under 20 or 21 except for "youth-type" jobs, jobs which are not career-type jobs. Given the limits

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(apparently) on the number of such jobs there will be in private employment, and given too the increasing numbers who are going to be looking for work, I suggest that there's a very real possibility that we're going to have to work out some entirely new kind of program to provide an alternative opportunity to those in roughly the 17- to 19-year age range.

I rather suspect that within a year or so now, there will be serious consideration in this country of some form of what has been called "universal youth service." I expect there ought to be an opportunity for everybody 17 to 19 years old to perform a year or two of service of one kind

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or another. I'm inclined to think that this is more likely to be a local than a national development, except with respect to some of the financing of it. I don't believe this country is going to enact a universal youth service program which will have the sometimes suggested price tag of someplace between 10 and 15 billion dollars. I can see the development at the local community level – more under state direction than under federal direction, with some use of federal funds – of an opportunity program, a service program, which will become an adjunctive, an alternative opportunity program as far as 17- to 19-year-olds are concerned. If we need a phrase to fix this in our minds and to suggest the nature of it, I suggest a pair of phrases: community internships or community apprenticeships. If you take the history of those two concepts, you get a suggestion of the kind of thing which might be involved here.

This possibility seems to me to warrant our consideration of new forms of administration which would not be entirely within the school system and which would not be left either to the employers or to the employment institutions alone. Some of us have been urging the establishment of Community Work-Education Councils throughout the country in which the community representatives would join with the school and the employer representatives to consider such matters as this.

I close with another specific which will seem to you totally undramatic and, therefore, not properly put at the end, but which I think is absolutely basic. We better start measuring what we're talking about in a way that tells us something about it. When I tell you that the youth unemployment rate is 20 percent (40 percent for those black and young) I blush inwardly at what I am doing. I had something to do with those monthly unemployment figures for eight years and, everytime they came out, I kept thinking of that line from Don Quixote in which Cervantes talks

". . . there will be serious consideration in this country of some form of what has been called 'universal youth service'."

about facts which are enemies to the truth. To lump the measurement of youth unemployment in with adult unemployment is to do two things: it conceals the true facts of the youth unemployment situation, and it fails to tell us what we need to know. We ought to separate the work situation involving 16- to 19-year-olds, separate it entirely, from the adult unemployment figures.

Another aspect of the measurement matter is that we will know nothing about what to do with respect to this interim transitional problem until we develop "longitudinal studies." This matter of taking a snapshot of one group one year and of a different group the next year, and so on, and then comparing these and coming up with a feeling that we know something about what is happening is an illusion confounded by statistics. Until we take particular groups of young people and follow them on through educational and transitional experiences of one kind or another, we aren't going to know what we're doing. Until we take that approach, too, we will know nothing about the cost effectiveness of the various training programs.

I have tried here then to suggest our consideration of three points: that the question must be faced of whether the economy wants either the total number of young people who are coming along or the education they are bringing with them; that we should reanalyze the traditional assumption that the answers to youth unemployement lie in changing education; and, that we should start considering the possibility of alternative uses or opportunities for some of those between 17 and 19 years of age which I only suggest by referring to the concept of community internship or community apprenticeship.

But even as I make these suggestions, I am impressed with the sense that when I held responsibility for any of this, I knew none of the answers; while now, when I have no responsibility, I let myself sound as though I knew all of them. It is because I am not sure of any of these points, that they seem worth commending to you for your consideration – and our further discussion.

EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Frederic W. Ness*

I want to focus my attention in this discussion upon a form of education whose staunchest defenders, ironically enough, are often viewed as self-protecting reactionaries. And when I indicate that I am planning to talk about "liberal education and the world of work," I should not be at all chagrined if at least a few of you indulge in some reactionary window gazing. Yet it is not so much the emphasis upon liberal education which is a reversion, as it is the bandwagon support, in both dollars and promotion, of vocational and technical training which is a throwback to the days of my youth, if not well before.

Let me define my ground as precisely as possible. There is an enormously strong movement today – you can hardly pick up a newspaper, magazine, or television (if you make a practice of picking up such a weighty medium) – without encountering an exhortation to bypass college in favor of some shorter-term vocational or technical program, one which is guaranteed to lead to a lucrative job. Now, although I must comment on this seeming effort to divide education into the collegiate and noncollegiate, I am mainly concerned today with an ancillary issue, the one between liberal-humane learning and job training. And while I could conceive of more fascinating subjects, I can think of few that have more long-range significance for this country or that deserve more thoughtful attention from people such as you, the policy-makers. Because of your leadership position, you must develop a clear and long-range understanding of what the two sides on this issue are saying. You must, at the very least, be ready to ask the difficult questions. Thus I can only view your presence here today as among the happiest of auguries – as well as an unparalleled opportunity for a little missionary work.

Before moving into the subject of liberal versus career education, though, let me make a few observations concerning the widespread advocacy of forgoing college altogether in favor of other, less expensive, less time-consuming, and allegedly just as effective, ways of entering the economy. One of the more popular of the advocates is a writer named Carolyn Bird, who in *The Case Against College* is persuasive, if not overly original.

A stock argument for college, one which she rightly attacks, has been that it provides a life-long economic advantage of significant proportions. Clearly, as more and more people avail themselves of the opportunity, though, this differential has been shrinking. Between 1969 and 1974, it has slipped from 11 percent to 8 percent; reason enough, Bird would say, for using one's money for some better purpose, even just sticking it in a savings account. I must quickly add that I don't find this a very convincing argument and suspect that relatively few high school seniors do either. Eight percent is still not a bad return on an investment!

More persuasive is the argument that a college degree offers no assurance of a job upon graduation – though getting from that to the conclusion that you should not go to college seems to me a little tortuous. College has never been a guarantee of a job. My B.A. in 1933 didn't make me overwhelmingly marketable either. Furthermore, my two youngest, both 1970 "bachelors" – a period when the job market was considerably easier than today – had a real struggle in finding what we used to refer to as gainful employment. Yet they are both doing quite well at this reading – one as a budding editor and the other as law clerk to a Federal District Judge.

But are these good examples? After all they have a father who can almost afford to maintain a sailboat in Annapolis. (No one, of course, can completely afford this luxury!) Is the hidden argument, perhaps, that a college degree is O.K. for those who can afford it but too much of a luxury for those of more limited means? Or, putting this another way, is higher education supportable only in an expanding economy? Need I go on? If there was ever an audience for whom such questions would be absurd, you are it. Yet once, in a moment of what now seems incredible naivete, when I suggested in a meeting that certain disadvantaged students who were being recruited for my university might better be served in other less expensive types of programs, I nearly had a riot on my hands – and would have deserved one!

But what of the argument that we are "overeducating" our youth, and that since, statistically, less than 20 percent of the job opportunities in 1980 will require a degree, we should drastically cut back on our collegiate programs? With two out of three Americans over 25 having now completed high school and one out of seven a college degree – twice the percentage of what it was in 1950 – aren't we running into a serious social and economic problem? The answer is probably "yes," but I find difficulty taking the problem seriously. The thought of having an "overeducated" plumber fixing the hair-clogged drain in my powder room fails to strike terror in my heart. I am confident, even before receiving the bill, that he is making a good living; and when he approaches my age and begins to

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get back trouble – which I understand is the occupational hazard of that trade – I might even encourage him to run for mayor of Washington.

On the other hand, despite its continuing benefits in providing upward mobility, I would certainly be among the last to suggest that college is for everyone. The trouble is, we really do not know, as a society, who can benefit adequately from a college education and who cannot. Moreover, as a citizen in a democracy, I cannot accept a system which, as in certain less autonomous countries, has the state, rather than the individual, deciding who will be privileged to attend its institutions of higher learning.

The problem remains, however, that the costs of maintaining our colleges and universities are expanding enormously. As more and more individuals, however well or poorly qualified, demand the opportunity, we find ourselves running into very understandable resistance on the part of those who must provide the support.

"Only a fraction of college graduates spend their lives working at something related to their undergraduate major."

The most convenient answer which we have seemingly come up with to date is to expand and promote the opportunity for alternative forms of postsecondary training – or, as I expressed it earlier, of job entry. Some of these alternates, indeed, lead to degrees – for example, various modifications of the University Without Walls conducted so effectively over the years by the British. But mostly, while they may be at the postsecondary level, the alternatives now being most vigorously promoted involve technical and vocational training which is frequently outside the traditional baccalaureate setting. It is often euphemistically referred to as "career education," and it is directed primarily toward job entry.

For legislators, business leaders, parents, and especially students, these job-directed programs cannot help having a great appeal. Substantively they are focused upon the perceived needs of the economy as well as upon the individual's current vocational interests. A student is not required, as in the traditional colleges, to spend effort on courses which seem apart from his/her immediate goal. What is more, a large percentage of these programs are quite well taught. I know of some where the faculty is made up principally of moonlighters from nearly colleges and universities – not necessarily a guarantee but at least a presumption of qualified teaching.

Then too, these programs usually require only a limited commitment from the student, who often is able to attend on a part-time basis and to look forward to weeks or months rather than years for completing the prescribed training. Thus, although such instruction is not necessarily inexpensive, the total outlay of dollars by the individual can be considerably less than that required for the usual college degree. By continuing his/her employment the student does not even have the burden of forgone income (frequently a serious problem in financial planning for campus-based education). Moreover, federal, and often state, scholarship and loan assistance is available under an increasing range of circumstances. Since the schools providing this training are often located conveniently to either place-of-work or home, for the married person this advantage extends well beyond financial considerations, for it means a minimum of disruption to domestic and social responsibilities.

And finally, despite some notable deceptions, many of the schools that provide this type of training are indeed effective in assisting the successful student to enter the job market, guiding him to a position that relates precisely to the area of his training. This is not an unimportant psychological benefit either. Only a fraction of college graduates spend their lives working at something related to their undergraduate major.

Thus, as I implied a moment ago, I can see many reasons why this vocational-technical solution to the mounting

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costs of postsecondary education has appeal. For the advocates, the formula is a simple one. We have only to determine how many jobs are available in the various categories – jobs, that is, which require training – and then provide that number of spaces in our postsecondary institutions. I understand, in fact, that in at least one of our states, legislation has been proposed to that effect, with the control to be provided through the state's student financial assistance program.

The trouble with this is that it doesn't wash. We simply do not know what jobs will be available, at any given moment in the future, either in kind or number. In our rapidly changing technology, today's most essential function can be tomorrow's obsolescence. Further, we really cannot, in a democracy, set rigid bounds on personal options, which may in part explain why the average adult American, according to a recent Department of Labor statistic, has seven jobs and three careers.

". . . the average adult . . . has seven jobs and three careers."

More important than either of these objections, therefore, is the fact that the kinds of programs to which I have been alluding are designed to train for job entry – that is, specifically for the first job. And this is something quite

different from what I am sure the planners of this program were referring to when they conceived the title "Education and the World of Work."

Translating this objection into social terms, we cannot as a democracy remain viable without a broadly and liberally educated citizenry, men and women who are not merely trained for a job but who are educated for a broadly conceived "life of work." John Stuart Mill, years ago, anticipated this distinction when he wrote, "Education makes a man a more intelligent shoemaker. . . not by teaching him how to make shoes, but. . . by the mental exercise it gives and habits it impresses."

We could approach this in another way. The average person, I understand, can be expected to live a total of 500,000 hours. When we recognize that only some 90,000 of these hours could possibly be spent in productive labor – productive in the sense of income-producing – it is easy to see that a narrow concept of education and work is no longer acceptable. Even after we eliminate the hours for sleep, for standing in line at the check-out counter of the local grocery store, for recreation and even procreation, there remains an enormous gap of time to be filled. Filling it satisfactorily is becoming one of the major problems of our time.

What is more, we are beginning to develop some rather interesting evidence – evidence to suggest that, on average, persons with higher degrees of education seem to be filling that gap more successfully than those who were less fortunate. There is even some evidence that a particular kind of education, education in the liberal arts and sciences, enables the individual to maximize (a term I normally despise) that satisfaction – to lead a life of somewhat greater happiness and tolerance.

And so, in my remaining few minutes, I want to talk about that other form of education which, according to its advocates, seems peculiarly well adapted to preparing young adults for lives that may be appreciably different from those who elect the so-called "career education." The difference, as expressed in an article which appeared recently in the Association of American College's journal, *Liberal Education*, is that "Technical education prepares people to work for systems . . . (while) the liberal arts keep us aware that it is much more important that systems work for people."

The advocates of this broader form of education will tell you that liberal education, far from being unpractical, is probably the most practical and maybe even the most indispensable form of education which we as a nation can provide.

They point to certain realities. They tell us that we are now living in a time of enormous uncertainty. Although there seems to be very little question that we will need doctors and lawyers, diplomats and pedagogues, and that we now have educational programs which seem to be relatively satisfactory preparation for these functions, even these roles are going through a period of change. We know how to train doctors who can keep Karen Quinlan alive over months and years of vegetable-like existence; but it is a relatively recent phenomenon for us to insist that the doctor be able to think through the ethical question of whether this type of patient should indeed be kept alive at all. What is more, new vocations and occupations are springing up almost overnight. Environmental protection, futuristic studies, urban planning are relatively new developments; and who in this room can say what will become a critical need the day after tomorrow!

These advocates of liberal education insist further that their regimen offers the best possible preparation for a life of work. Given the given – to wit, we simply do not know what the future holds – they claim that we need to educate and not to train our young citizens. That what we need – and here I risk quoting a professor of philosophy, Jack F. Padgett of Albion College – is a very practical educational experience which will instill in the young man or woman such learning skills and attitudes as:

- Learning how to learn
- The ability to think critically and to speak and write clearly and cogently
- A sense of our cultural and intellectual heritage that enables one to view the present and to face the future with a perspective that fosters confidence and maturity of judgment
- Some grasp of the ideas and ideals that have motivated people down through the ages
- The ability to define clearly a problem and to know how to go about trying to solve it
- Being able to discover who one is, what one might become, and the values that make life worth living.

Now practical or not, I confess that I would find it a little difficult to tell you how to translate all of that into a piece of legislation capable of standing in competition with a soundly-drafted request for our third weapons system, the XM missile, which is described simply as "92 inches in diameter, 790 inches long, weighing between 150,000 and 170,000 pounds, and carrying up to 13 MIRVs." While not quite so specific, some of the career-education legislation recently introduced enjoys a similar purity of limited and measurable objective.

But since I now seem to have my way back into matters of legislation – which is your world, not mine – let me suggest a few of the things that I might ask the proponents of these two educational systems if I were in your seat.

I think I would ask the advocates of career education how they know that the jobs for which they propose training so many young men and women will actually be available down the road for any period of time. More importantly, since job security cannot be guaranteed, what their graduate is going to do when, as is likely, he must change his occupation somewhere along the line? Are we going to develop an enormous retraining industry, which will cancel out all of these claimed financial advantages of vocational education?

I think I'd go beyond this purely practical consideration, however, and ask them what they are doing to help their student see his job in the broader frame of reference, to understand his particular function as something that has more than a temporary economic usefulness. I would even ask them whether they have concern with their students' responsibilities as parents, as voters, as neighbors in a

complex and rapidly changing world and, if so, what they are doing about it.

Nor would I under any circumstances let the advocates of liberal arts education get off without question either. I would make them defend, for example, a great many of their practices. I would ask them in what way an undergraduate major in chemistry or a highly concentrated premed program is liberalizing or humanizing. I would ask them how the sum total of 120 hours of largely unrelated courses contributes to the production of an enlightened citizen. Where in the curriculum, for example, is the student given help in seeing inter-relationships among his different required courses of study and their relevance to what he will need to know as parent, citizen, etc.? I would ask them whether their majors are not really vocational or technical programs in disguise, preparation for specific careers in the field and not really courses which contribute to that set of competencies which I quoted a moment ago. I would ask them what has happened to standards. Knowing as I do that they tend to look down on the vocational and technical schools, I would ask for some evidence to demonstrate that the baccalaureate programs are that much more demanding of effort and achievement from the student.

"Just as work is more than the job, so education is vastly more than job training . . ."

But most importantly, I would ask them what they are doing to meet the legitimate vocational aspirations of their students, and when, as has happened in a number of colleges recently, they do introduce vocational or technical programs how these are better than the ones which are given, often in shorter compass and with greater efficiency, in other types of schools.

And I think, before I was done, I would make the two sides sit down in a hearing room with me and ask them why the practical and the theoretical, the vocational and the liberalizing, the humane and the applied are treated in their body politic as seemingly inseparable tracks. For in my judgment this is the ultimate and the key question. I believe that a false dichotomy has been allowed to grow up, that a liberal arts program which ignores the liberalizing and the humanizing is shortchanging our society. Just as work is more than the job, so education is vastly more than job training if it is to serve the needs of the world of work.

I understand that the first recorded western philosopher, an old chap named Thales, who lived long before there was such things as a school, is usually pictured as an unpractical dreamer who, while walking along gazing abstractedly at the stars, fell into a well. "He was so eager to know what was going on in heaven," observed Plato in the *Theaetetus,* "that he could not see what was before his feet." What is usually ignored, however, if indeed it is known to most contemporary philosophers, is that Thales accurately predicted, for the first time in man's history, the precise moment of an eclipse of the sun – knowledge of tremendous military value. Further, he was a shrewd business diagnostician who managed to corner the oil market – in this instance, olive oil!

I think you will understand when I suggest that the message of my remarks today is not unrelated to this little episode.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

Emmett B. Fields*

It must have been about seventeen years ago that I first participated in an exercise that was called a program evaluation. The occasion was a trip to Milledgeville, Georgia – to what was still called the Georgia Woman's College – as a member of a visiting committee appointed by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in the process by which it re-accredits institutions belonging to the Association. As with similar visits I was to make later to other institutions being accredited, the committee was composed of various kinds of professional people from other colleges and universities, we were supplied beforehand with a self-study the institution had done; we roamed the place for three days inquiring into its general and specific health; and, at the end, we wrote a report attesting to the adequacy of the college against the standards of the Association and suggesting improvements that might be made beyond the minimum standards. The attestation of adequacy was an early version of consumerism; the urging of ongoing improvement was a version of the old American dream of progress.

We took it for granted that improvements would probably require more money. Suffice it to say, with reference to that particular visit, that the Woman's College was reaccredited; it did benefit from our suggestions; and probably it did cost the state of Georgia more money (although surely not much). The same process was occurring in other institutions in all regions of the country, and this is the way program evaluation was done in those times – voluntary improvement through self-study and peer assessment.

It is still being done this way, although no longer in this way alone. The intervening years have brought a slower pace of development for higher education – it has moved into a steady-state as we commonly say – and it has thus developed its own form of an emergent national pattern of larger general importance. By 1976, the nation's bicentennial birthday, we have come to the realization that the third American century will be quite unlike the first two. In the past, we grew accustomed to seemingly limitless expansion – geographic, demographic, and economic. The present and future challenge will be to consolidate past gains while learning to live with a slower rise in real per capita incomes and more restrained resource consumption.

This groundswell realization in American affairs has implications for all of our institutions, and it would be wrong either to grant immunity to higher education or to ask it to bear the burden alone. Looking back on my visit to Milledgeville, however, it is possible to see that the act of program evaluation as then defined was undergirded by an assumption of infinite growth which we can no longer afford as a uniform rule. In some institutions there will be both need and opportunity for expanded resources, and sensible program evaluations will be necessary in those instances. A fully adequate system of program evaluation for now and the future, however, must extend to instances in which the need is for educational improvements without additional resources, and even to instances in which programs must be terminated so that resources can be reallocated. It is suddenly a deadly business. It is not surprising that agencies beyond the campus, most notably state coordinating bodies, should be getting into the act.

My assignment is to look at the topic from the viewpoint of a college or university. Gordon Davies is here to speak from the vantage point of a state coordinating agency. I choose to approach the matter by presenting my own institution, the State University of New York at Albany, as something of a case study. During the past year, my campus moved to reshape the mission of the institution and to terminate 20 of its 129 degree programs. You may be interested in how this was accomplished and the role program evaluation played in it.

First, to remind you of the nature of the State University of New York, it is a system of 64 campuses which blankets the state exclusive of New York City. Thirty of the SUNY units are community colleges with a limited relationship to the system and a primary relationship to their local tax districts. The remaining 34 campuses, all dependent on state appropriations, include four university centers with a wide range of undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs. The others are arts and sciences colleges, agricultural and technical schools, specialized instituitons, or statutory colleges affiliated with private universities.

The State University of New York at Albany, my own campus, is one of the four university centers. It includes a College of Arts and Sciences and schools of Education, Business Administration, Public Affairs, Criminal Justice, Nursing, Social Welfare, and Library and Information Sciences, plus Graduate Studies. Together the schools enroll about 15,000 students in 49 bachelor's degree

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programs, 52 master's degree programs, and 28 doctoral programs. Enrollment pressures are greater than for any other unit of the system, with about 15,000 applicants for 1900 freshman places. The Center has an old downtown campus but most of its work is conducted on a new uptown campus, which was built in its entirety between 1962 and 1972 at a cost of $125,800,000. Alden Dunham has called it the most dramatic campus in the United States.

My story of the institution is concerned with events of the past year, but tight budgets of the several preceding years created a climate without which things might have turned out differently. Only minor increases in enrollment, and no increase in staff, were allowed after 1971 and, meanwhile, new classes of students shifted their interests away from once-popular fields of study to other fields, with the result that some schools and departments were relatively overstaffed and others, the ones into which students were moving, were understaffed. The administration tried to keep abreast of the trend by reallocating resources in limited amounts, but the budget was managed essentially with an even hand and the trend continued. The curricula remained largely untouched. The 1975-76 array of 129 degree programs was about the same as had come into existence in the late 1960's and, obviously, on quite different economic assumptions.

In the spring of 1975, however, a select committee composed mostly of faculty had evaluated all programs of the Center, had made a first attempt at assigning them priorities, and had recommended that two units, Astronomy and an entity called the Allen Center, be discontinued. It was not a major contraction, but a crack had appeared in the dike. Working under the surface was a growing awareness, urged by SUNY Central and accepted by the campus leadership, that the even-handed technique of extracting resources had run its course and that any further movement of this sort threatened to sap the vitality of the entire institution. Henceforth, any budget reductions that might become necessary ought to be selective. The work of the select committe turned out to be fortuitous, because the 1975-1976 budget as finally established reduced the program funds of the campus by $1,213,000. The budget was now as tight as a drumhead, the funds in reserve were trivial, and there was virtually no flexibility to move in any direction.

It is important to know that the faculty and staff of SUNY are unionized and that the union contract includes a retrenchment clause which established strong management rights. Programs may be reduced or discontinued on five different grounds, only one of which is financial exigency. Another is a change in the program definition or mission of a campus. Retrenchment when enacted cancels the rights of continuing employment for faculty and staff, including those holding tenure.

This was the state of affairs when I became president in July, 1975. The strategy which seemed appropriate to me under the circumstances was to move away from the model of the comprehensive university on which the institution had initially been planned, define a more compact mission which could take maximum advantage of our immediate environment, reduce or terminate programs which were weak or which had no special relevance to the more compact mission, and plow their resources into the center of the enterprise. Given the pressures for admission, there appeared to be no danger that the strategy would result in enrollment losses. I was particularly impressed by the opportunities afforded the campus by its proximity to state government and saw here an exciting motif for the more compact mission. I know of no American university whose reputation is based primarily on wide-ranging public policy analyses and other services to state and local government, and I thought, and think, that SUNY-Albany has a chance to distinguish itself in this way.

". . . the program array that came into existence in the late 1960's was overextended . . . we would have to give up some programs.".

Not all of the strategy was clear at the outset, not even to me, but it has moved rapidly to clarity in the course of the year. The faculty leadership was ready for the message as I found occasion to voice it and had anticipated the change in a general way. The change was not popular with everyone, particularly with people in programs of low priority, but the general climate was ripe for this kind of contemporary adventure.

This moves me toward the heart of my story. During the fall there was a mood of brooding concern as to what the 1976-77 budget would look like, accompanied by some "whistling in the dark" in hopes that the state's financial problem would go away. Preliminary budget instructions from the governor's powerful Division of the Budget through SUNY Central exacted a tentative loss to the campus of 30 staff positions and $450,000. The sign was hardly encouraging. We made up the loss in our submitted budget for 1976-77 mostly by taking advantage of the limited retrenchments of previous years. We then sat back to wait for the Executive Budget, which is the governor's recommendation to the legislature, and hoped that no more would be asked of us.

It was. When the Executive Budget was published and sent to the legislature in mid-January, it required SUNY to effect taxpayer relief amounting to over $50 million This is on a base of $645 million. About half of this was made up by increasing tuition and other revenues, but program costs had to be reduced by almost $25 million. Our share, on the Albany campus, by formula, was to yield not less than 88 additional staff positions to effect a saving of not less than $1,343,200 in annual costs – on top of the 30 positions and $450,000 in savings posted in the preliminary budget. The campus was thus scheduled to lose a total of 118 positions and $1,793,200 in one year from a base budget of $44 million. Some offsets were allowed for mandatory cost increases so that the base budget was not reduced as severly as these figures would indicate. The instructions came to the campus on January 20 with a deadline for recommendations effecting the cuts to be submitted to SUNY Central by March 15. Identical instructions went to all units of SUNY, with varying formula-driven amounts for budget reduction. The great State University of New York, born in confidence and an expansionist mode, was launched into a major contraction.

I must admit that the situation scared the daylights out of me. We were not caught completely by surprise, but I was not sure that the preparations we had made, or any conceivable preparations we might have made, could be adequate to bring us through this in an orderly and wholesome way. One thing was certain: we had to move fast.

It unfolded as follows. After appropriate consultation and announcement to the faculty and staff, a Presidential Task Force on Priorities and Resources was appointed and given a general charge to assess all academic and support programs of the University Center, recommend priority rankings for program claims on resources, and consult with and advise me on the development of the University's operating budget for 1976-77. The Task Force was comprised of ten faculty, three students, three administrators, and three staff, most of them drawn from councils of the University Senate according to their experience in aspects

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of the work to be done. The Task Force was appointed January 23 with a deadline of March 1 for its final report.

The administrative budget group and the Task Force agreed that they would work independently but would share all available data and would touch base frequently along the way, in order to avoid last-hour conflicts in judgment. In this spirit we went to work.

Bear in mind that both groups shared one fundamental realization: the program array that came into existence in the late 1960's was overextended for current resources, and we would have to give up some programs. There was also the realization, in the administration at least, that if the reallocation strategy were to be preserved, if we were to attain sufficient flexibility to build up the programs of good quality and the programs with potentiality for services to state government, we would have to identify considerably more resources than were exacted by the governor's Executive Budget. The University officers and I worked in a marathon session over the weekend of January 24 and, by Monday morning, we were done with a tentative plan. We lacked confidence in a good many of its elements at that stage because of the speed at which we had moved, but at least, there it was on paper. It called for numerous high priority programs of the University to be given new resources over a schedule of five years, it pared down the resources of some other programs, and it called for the termination of over 20 programs on a three-year schedule. The resources saved by the plan were sufficient to effect the 1976-77 budget reductions which had been instructed *and* fund a large portion of the five-year building schedule for high-priority programs.

As soon as this tentative plan was finished it was given to the Task Force. They were a bit behind the administrative team and did not concern themselves at once with our specific findings. Instead, they studied our documented methodology and then set to work on a methodology of their own which was very similar to that of the administration. At the close of the first week of the life of the Task Force they had finished their tentative plan, and we sat down together to compare notes. Going through the two plans line for line and then adding up, we found that we had reached congruent conclusions at the order of 80 percent. I began to take heart that our preparations would indeed prove adequate to the occasion. The remaining weeks were used essentially in resolving incongruities, by resort to additional evidence and argumentation, and in reviewing again and again all elements of the plan. The Task Force rendered its final report on February 23, a week ahead of schedule, so that I might have additional time to hear counter-argument from affected programs and individuals. In its 32-day lifetime the Task Force had met 146 hours in plenary session and untold times in subcommittees, not to mention time spent individually in ferretting out this or that bit of information. The faculty members continued to teach their classes throughout the period. I expect they all worked 90-hour weeks at least.

On February 23 the Task Force report was published in its entirety, with every program and supporting service of the University briefly analyzed and a resource priority assigned to it. Twenty degree programs – one-sixth of the total inventory – were recommended for termination with reasons given. It was now open for everyone to reflect upon.

There were ensuing stages in the process which I will describe in a moment, but let me step back a bit. You may be wondering how it could possibly be that an administrative group and a Task Force made up heavily of faculty could so quickly reach congruent conclusions on such grave issues – 80 percent congruity on the first pass and complete congruity in a matter of weeks. The explanation is that both groups were operating on the same evaluative data base – a rich, complex, and sophisticated data base. Beginning in 1970, the institution had operated under a system of external program evaluation – peer group assessment – which by 1976 had concluded assessments on all doctoral and master's programs and many at other levels. Ninety-four separate teams had visited the campus and submitted reports on 50 separate academic units. Last fall, in addition, we brought in teams to evaluate nearly every administrative office. Adding to these reports, we have a management information system which reveals a great deal about student trends, relative program costs, and other data elements necessary to judgments on cost effectiveness. I know of

no campus more heavily evaluated. Against that backdrop, the Task Force can be seen as a culminating step in a much longer process of analysis, the step which brought coherence to the whole within constrained resources. All that was necessary was for the administrative group and the Task Force to develop decision grids adequate to contain our mountain of data in an orderly fashion. We worked within five general criteria, each with its own sub-elements, and filled in the boxes from the evaluative data base. The five criteria were as follows: (1) *program quality*: an assessment of faculty and student quality, program coherence, productivity and leadership; (2) *centrality*: the degree to which a program represented a basic and traditional discipline in the University; (3) *public policy*: the extent to which a program had potential for addressing policy issues of major public concern; (4) *demand*: the degree of student demand, both by majors and non-majors; and (5) *cost*: the relative cost of the program in the context of the type of program and degree given.

"The cuts were more sweeping in the administration than in academic programs."

It would be too much to say that the program evaluation system accounts for the Albany story of 1975-76. It is accurate to say that the story could not have happened without it.

Back to the remaining stages of the process. On the same day that the Task Force report was published, a letter went to all units on campus inviting each one to give me, by March 2, a written response to those Task Force recommendations touching its own affairs. On February 24 I called into session the Council on Educational Policy and the Executive Committee of the University Senate to address two remaining steps. Both bodies were asked to examine the Task Froce report and advise me as to the efficacy of the procedures followed. The Council on Educational Policy was asked additionally to examine all responses from affected units to determine whether they presented relevant and significant evidence which might have been overlooked by the Task Force. Both bodies reported by March 7. Both endorsed the procedures of the Task Force. The governance system of the campus had responded successfully to the harsh demands upon it.

School and departmental responses did produce some additional points for further inquiry. I asked the Task Force to consider these points if it wished while I was doing the same thing, with the result that the Task Force presented me with an addendum report which clarified the points. It concluded that none was of sufficient weight to alter its initial recommendations.

Meantime I was being given a great deal of attention by all sorts of persons on and off campus, through the mails and in person, most of them appealing on behalf of a favorite program. Some were orderly and others were disorderly. Most of the time remaining to me I used in reading and listening to appeals. As you might expect of an institution located in Albany, the campus generated a good bit of lobbying activity in the chancellor's office, the governor's office, and the legislature. In the latter body there was both individual support for, and criticism of, some of the cuts. In the end, however, I could not find the ground on which to reject any Task Force recommendation and sustained them all in my recommendations to Chancellor Ernest L. Boyer. I gloss over the pain and emotional stress that making such decisions caused me, the Task Force, and everyone concerned. We had to work for the greater good of the greater number. The recommendations were sent forward on March 15 and were published, with explanations, the same day. Seven doctoral, five master's, and eight bachelor's programs were recommended for termination, including several whole departments and the School of Nursing. In addition, two administrative offices were recommended for termination, five were recommended for reorganization, and a number of others were reduced in personnel. The cuts were more sweeping in the administration than in academic programs.

We had not considered terminating programs abruptly and had pledged, instead, that all students currently enrolled would be able to conduct their degrees and had pledged, also, that terminating faculty and staff would be given maximum possible notice.

My recommendations had to be acted upon by other approval bodies, of course. Suffice it to say that Chancellor Boyer and the Board of Trustees of SUNY did accept the recommendations. By now, also, the legislature has passed the Executive Budget with a single adjustment in the recommendations as submitted by the campus. An additional appropriation of $150,000 was made to SUNY-Albany to make it possible to continue bachelor's and master's degree programs in Italian Studies. There are 42 Italian-Americans in the legislature, and Senator John Marchi of Staten Island is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

A fairly clean sweep, I would say. What does it mean? For SUNY-Albany it means several important things. For one, we are embarked upon the establishment and fulfillment of a more compact and more coherent institutional mission which does not strive to be all things to all men. A mission study, now in first draft, will be the major consultative work of the upcoming fall season, and I expect by Christmas that we will have a publishable document that explains to everyone where the institution is going and how it proposes to get there. For another thing, we have freed up the resources of terminating programs in order that programs being sustained can be strengthened and made more serviceable to the state of New York and, I hope, the nation. For a third thing, we have created for ourselves a short-term problem that few university people of my generation have techniques for coping with: morale has risen in programs being sustained because new resources are scheduled for them, but morale has plummeted, all too inevitable, in programs being terminated. We must now develop ways to express our collegiality and our sense of humanity to people who shortly shall no longer belong to the community. As with all new problems, we must suppose that necessity is the mother of invention, and that we will find the ways.

For this seminar on program evaluation, the Albany experience may have meanings beyond these. As I have said, a good system of program evaluation will not itself

cause an institution to reshape itself, but reshaping cannot occur sensibly without such a system. In case you have assumed that universities cannot be relied upon to reshape themselves, I point out, also, that the assumption is not necessarily accurate.

The story could end here because these are the larger elements as I see them, but you may have heard about a conflict between the State University of New York and the State Education Department which concerns program evaluation and thus deserves some comment. The controversy is intricate but its major outlines can be quickly sketched.

SUNY-Albany, as I said earlier, began a procedure of program evaluation by external examiners in 1970 which had concluded assessment of all graduate programs by 1976. The same thing was occuring on the other graduate campuses of SUNY. In 1973, the State Education Department began its own assessment of doctoral programs in all public and private universities by resort to external examiners much as we had done but in a more elaborate procedure. By last summer the SED procedure had covered five doctoral fields – Astronomy, Chemistry, English, History, and Physics – in all universities. The SUNY stance was, and is, to extend full cooperation to the visiting teams and, at one point, we even wondered whether the costs of our own rather expensive evaluations might be saved and be borne instead by the State Education Department. Along the way, however, evidence appeared that the SED procedure was being used not merely to advise SUNY with regard to the effectiveness of its program, but to close some of them down by the administrative act of the commissioner and deny students admission to them. This actually happened to several programs in the state, including History and English on my own campus. It became an issue of authority: Who was running the State University of New York? Negotiations in search of an accommodation went on for months but proved unavailing. In February, 1976, the Board of Trustees of SUNY brought suit against the Commissioner of Education and his regents on the ground that the commissioner was exceeding his authority. The case is now awaiting assignment to the Supreme Court of the State of New York or the Appellate Division. Meantime we continue to offer doctoral programs in History and English and to admit students to them.

Discretion restrains me from saying much more while the case is pending, but I can at least make clear what the issue is. It is *not* borne of fear of external examiners,

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". . . a good system of program evaluation will not itself cause an institution to reshape itself, but reshaping cannot occur sensibly without such a system."

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because SUNY was obviously employing peer examiners of its own and continues to cooperate with those of SED. Neither is it borne of a wish to maintain all existing doctoral programs. My own campus has terminated seven such degrees on its own initiative, although not the two that the Commissioner has deregistered, and other SUNY campuses have behaved similarly.

The issue has to do with authority and with the somewhat murky statutory environment in the state of New York which, unfortunately, appears to give both sides something to stand on. Two processes are involved, master planning and program registration, both of which have statutory bases. The SUNY trustees want program discontinuances to be construed under the master plan process which provides for a recommendation from the trustees of the State University of New York which is then reviewed by SED, with the commissioner and his regents participating, and the governor. Authority would thus be shared by the litigants in the law suit plus the regents and the governor. The commissioner wants the matter construed as an act of program registration which is statutorily defined as the commissioner's own administrative prerogative without shared authority with any of the other bodies, including his own regents.

We will see how it comes out. It is obvious that, by having become a deadly business with numerous bodies participating, program evaluation can be the ground for serious interagency conflict.

ACADEMIC PROGRAM REVIEW AT THE STATE LEVEL

Gordon K. Davies*

The review of educational programs is probably one of the oldest functions of state government. It dates back at least to the jury of Athenian citizens who evaluated Socrates' teaching methods and course content and found him guilty of corrupting the young men of the city. In those days, of course, program review was a "winner-take-all" activity, and Socrates was asked to drink poison. The sentence was all the more significant in view of the fact that his school was not even state-supported. It's a far cry from gradual discontinuance of the offending program; some would call the change progress, while others would call it decay.

In the tamer world of contemporary state-supported higher education, higher education agencies have varying kinds of responsibility for program review. The state higher education agencies do not, as I am sure you are aware, fall into neat classification as either governing or coordinating. Their statutory responsibilites and authority, moreover, will be greater in some areas than in others.

Despite the obvious disparities, I think we can identify three program areas which concern state agencies: new program approval, quantitative audit of program productivity, and qualitative evaluation of programs. Some agencies work in all three, while others work in two or even one. Virginia's Council of Higher Education, for instance, approves new programs and does productivity audits, but does not evaluate the quality of existing programs. Tennessee's Higher Education Commision approves new programs but has no authority to require the discontinuance of programs for low productivity or poor quality.

". . . program review, as it is presently done at the state level, . . ., is not effective either as a means of controlling costs or of assuring quality."

The ostensible reasons for giving a state agency responsibility for program review are to control costs and to assure quality educational programs.

I propose to you that program review, as it is presently done at the state level, and given institutional autonomy in most curriculum matters, is not effective either as a means of controlling costs or of assuring quality.

Program review does not really control costs. The cost of an academic program is an accumulation of the cost of the courses taken by those who major in it. In this respect, an academic program is a little like an *a la carte* dinner: you cannot control the size of the bill for dinner unless you are willing to control the combination of courses and dishes ordered from the menu.

I do not want to get lost in my own metaphor, so let me apply it specifically to academic programs. You cannot control program cost unless you control the course offerings, the faculty hiring, and the faculty assignments. Let me give you a few examples which are, unfortunately, not hypothetical.

A comprehensive university proposes to start a doctoral program in a humanities discipline. Before the program receives final approval by the state higher education board, however, the university announces the hiring of a nationally prominent scholar in the discipline. The board is faced with two choices: approve the program and the scholar will teach undergraduate and doctoral students; or disapprove the program and the scholar will teach undergraduate students. Cost difference: absolutely none. The man is already hired, and the higher education board is explicitly precluded from interfering in institutional personnel actions.

A four-year college proposes to establish a degree program in physical education, claiming that it already has all the faculty it needs and that it presently offers 21 courses required for the program. Again, the higher education board has two choices: approve the program and recognize, with a forced smile, that it has been had; or disapprove the program and recognize that the faculty and the 21 courses will remain in the curriculum. Cost difference: absolutely none. The courses are already offered, and the higher education board is authorized to approve or disapprove only academic programs, not individual courses.

A final example – as a result of a quantitative audit of program productivity, a university agrees to discontinue a specialized science program which has awarded few degrees. It is quite explicit before doing so, however, about the cosmetic nature of its action. It terminates no faculty, and does not reduce its enrollment. Cost difference: absolutely none. Budget requests are built almost entirely on the basis of full-time-equivalent student enrollment. It matters very little whether a college has 40 or 80 degree programs to offer its 6,000 students, as long as budgets, enrollments, and degree programs are not tied together. In the same way, it matters very little whether programs are terminated as long as faculty and staff are continued; and that's the key difference in what Emmett Fields has done so successfully

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in SUNY-Albany, but which, frankly, doesn't tend to happen. Most of the people I talk to in state agencies who have announced with great fanfare that 50 programs have been closed as a result of a productivity audit get somewhat bashful when you ask them how many faculty and staff were terminated as a result of the 50 program closures. Generally, the answer is none.

We are tying budgets, enrollments, and degree programs together in Virginia, using both the State's new program budgeting procedures and academic program costing techniques developed from work done by the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems. I think the result will be better control over academic program costs. In the past, we have forecast enrollments without regard for academic programs and have, therefore, funded institutions without regard for them. The 1978-80 student enrollments will, however, be forecast by clusters of similar academic programs, and we shall develop separate funding formulae for each cluster.

"We need, after evaluating resources and process, to evaluate results."

In this way, when a proposed program is not approved by the Council of Higher Education, the new enrollment forecast as a result of it can be deleted from the number of students for which the institution receives funding support. When a program is terminated as non-productive, a portion of its enrollment can be deducted from the authorized enrollment level.

To be sure, steps like these will not go all the way toward controlling costs. Specific curricula, course content, teaching methods, faculty hiring and assignment, facilities utilization – all remain the prerogatives of the institutions. I am persuaded that this is desirable. At least, it is more desirable than the alternative: to manage the whole system, in its detail, centrally from the state capitol.

By developing budgeting and enrollment procedures such as those I have described to you, the Council of Higher Education will have established fairly tight control over the allocation of the state's resources. At the same time, it will have left the colleges and universities fairly free to spend the funds they receive in what they hold to be the best possible way.

Perhaps, you may think, state level program review can at least ensure that we are getting high quality for our money, even if there are some obvious ways in which it does not control costs. No such luck; at least, not as program reviews are currently conducted.

Program review does not assure quality for the simple reason that, as it is done now, it neither measures nor assesses quality. At the very best, program review procedures examine presumptive indicators of quality – factors such as faculty credentials and publications, library holdings, equipment, program requirements, and the planned curriculum.

These indicators all allow one to presume at a given point in time – but *only* to *presume* and *only* at *that time* – that the program will be rigorous and of high quality.

When it approves a new program, Virginia's state agency is uncomfortably aware that it has no control over quality of instruction, or even over assignment of faculty. It has no control over library or equipment acquisitions. Program requirements can be changed once the program has been started, as can the planned curriculum. What was unique in the Commonwealth as proposed can, over a relatively short period of time, become unnecessarily duplicative of other programs in the state.

Even when a state agency evaluates existing programs, it is not really evaluating their quality. It is, rather, evaluating the presumptive indicators of quality to which I have already referred. How good is the faculty? How good are the laboratories? It assesses some indicators of the probable quality of the resources available to offer the program – faculty, library, physical plant – and infers from them the probable quality of the program. Perhaps, when the evaluation is well done, the agency also attempts to evaluate the actual *process* of the program: its teaching, advising, and research activities. But even this kind of evaluation misses the mark. Recalling our restaurant where the menu is *a la carte*, we have checked the quality of the meat and vegetables, and are assured that the chef is a graduate of a good culinary institute; we have inspected the kitchen while dishes are being prepared, and are satisfied that it is well-managed. But we have not tasted the food – we have not evaluated the results.

So it is with program evaluation. We need, after evaluating resources and process, to evaluate results. Until we do, we are justified in presuming that the program is of good quality, but only in *presuming* this.

Virginia's General Assembly approved standards of quality for the public schools of the state. I believe it is time to develop standards of quality for our colleges and universities, but they must be standards that measure the *results* of higher education, rather than the *teaching process* and the *resources* allocated to it. It isn't enough to say that quality education is 20 to 1 student-faculty ratio at the freshman level. That's a process or resource allocation criterion.

We need now to ask what kinds of men and women are being graduated from the various degree programs, and what difference their attendance at our colleges and universities has made in them. Most performance audits avoid this question because it is too hard; the eyes of educators go glassy whenever someone asks how they know whether they are doing a good job.

Indeed, it is not an easy question, and the simplistic answers to it are apt to be wrong. Frankly, most performance audits measure that which can be measured, and pretend that is all there is. There are, as Cervantes observed and as Mr. Wirtz reminded us yesterday, facts that are the enemies of truth.

How do we measure the results of academic programs? Several possibilities come to mind, all of which have problems associated with them.

The success of former students in obtaining employment in the careers for which they prepared might be one criterion, and it would work very well in evaluating some academic programs. It would certainly force institutions to do a more careful "truth-in-packaging" job as they marketed their wares to the public.

But employment opportunities are dependent upon

general economic conditions, and nothing higher education can do will control the ups and downs of the Gross National Product.

More important, there are great numbers of programs which do not prepare persons for specific careers. These are the essential backbone of higher education without which the entire enterprise would collapse into narrow vocational training. This is not to say that the education gained in these programs is not useful; far from it. But its goals are general, not specific – intellectual flexibility, emotional maturity, development of perceptive, self-conscious human beings. Such programs cannot be measured

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". . . most performance audits measure that which can be measured, and pretend that is all there is."

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by job placements, because job placements are simply not their immediate goal.

Then, there are student satisfaction measures – ask the students what they thought of the program. Again, there are some possible uses for this criterion. But beware, for it is often years before a student can assess what he or she learned in college. And sometimes early judgments are disastrously wrong-headed.

Perhaps we can pull an example from the gloom of Europe's dark ages. John Scotus Erigena is one of the few bright lights shining out of that gloom; philosopher, theologian, linguist, he transmitted in his own works much of the heritage of classical antiquity. Without him, even if few know of him today, our culture would be less rich. But poor John Scotus failed to pass the student satisfaction test. According to the chronicles, he was stabbed to death by his students at the conclusion of a lecture series.

Finally, we can test students and attempt to measure the progress they have made while enrolled at "Good Old State U." This is the most promising and most difficult approach. In the first place, we must measure *progress* relative to the student's ability at the start of his or her college career. It is no secret that people have different abilities and that there are different levels of preparation for college study. Surely, therefore, it is not reasonable to measure the quality of academic programs against some absolute standard such as the Graduate Record Examinations.

In the second place, we must decide what to measure. I propose that knowledge of business methods or English literature or comparative anatomy are not what should be measured. Rather, we should attempt to assess the general cognitive and emotional development of students who have passed into and out of our hallowed portals. This is a tough assignment, but several institutions and testing groups are at work on it.

I must emphasize to you, however, that assessing the quality of our graduates requires that we all – educators, legislators, general citizenry – strive to reach consensus on what higher education is all about. I do not think we have thus far; I think we are adrift, and badly in want of leadership. As educational decision-makers it would seem to me this is something very important which deserves your attention and that of the educators in your states.

Which brings me to my final question: who should measure quality? I have no neat political or management solution to the question, but it seems obvious to me that we all, both those of us at the state level, the agency staffs and legislators, and those in institutions play some role.

At the state level, agencies responsible for higher education are often competing with legislative or executive

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audit groups for the right to evaluate higher education's academic programs. Who does what and to whom is a complex political question with no easy answer. At base, it is a matter of trust: are the higher education agencies merely the advocates of institutional or system self-interest, or can they speak in the interest of the state's citizens and on behalf of higher education – which often is far different from speaking on behalf of the colleges and universities in a state system?

Obviously, each of you will have your own answer to this question. If the state agencies do not speak for higher education on behalf of the citizenry, however, it is clearly necessary that their staffs be turned out of their jobs or that responsibility for evaluation be taken from them.

Whoever finally coordinates the evaluations must, however, be sensitive to the true goals of higher eudcation, sensitive to the obvious differences between colleges and factories, to the inherent awkwardness of modern management techniques when applied to institutions which should specialize in human development. If we use the wrong techniques to evaluate quality, if we define quality in the wrong way, our institutions will eventually bend themselves out of shape trying to conform, and what should be a great and noble effort toward the development of human potential will become a pedestrian exercise in narrow vocational training.

Do not be dismayed, however, by those who will argue that your evaluative procedures are flawed, or that your data are imperfect, or that your assessments are unprecise. Of course they are. Starting from consensus about our goals, we should do the best we can, secure in the knowledge that it is better to be approximately right than to be precisely wrong. Precisely the wrong thing to do, is to do nothing.

In closing, I want to observe that this nation's colleges and universities have been in operation for a long time –

a few for more than three hundred years. State coordinating or regulatory agencies have been around only a short while — most for less than 25 years. Legislative audit groups are a still more recent phenomenon.

We are all still working out our relationships. The colleges and universities grew up with virtually complete autonomy, and are now learning that they must surrender some of it to legitimate governmental interests. How much they must surrender, and to whom, remains a pressing political and educational question.

We are making good progress, both in dealing with the large political and educational questions and in important areas such as academic program review. We have come a long way, and need now to ask why we are doing what we have been doing, what we want to do in the future, and how we can do it best. It is in this spirit that I ask you to consider my remarks here this morning, and it is in this spirit that I ask you to work with us on charting the future course of state-supported higher education.

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

John E. Roueche*

If your children are attending college, the chances are that when they graduate they will be unable to write ordinary, expository English with any real degree of structure and lucidity. It they are in high school and planning to attend college, the chances are less than even that they will be able to write English at the minimal college level when they get there. If they are not planning to attend college, their skills in writing English may not even qualify them for secretarial or clerical work. And if they are attending elementary school, they are almost certainly not being given the kind of required reading material, much less writing instruction, that might make it possible for them eventually to write comprehensible English. Willy-nilly, the U.S. educational system is spawning a generation of semi-literates.

Newsweek, December 8, 1975, p. 58

What's the Problem?

It may be impossible to define, describe, or delimit the problem, but everyone agrees there is a problem in American education. Put simply, more and more students are graduating from high schools each year without the basic skills neccessary to survive, let alone succeed, in a rapidly developing technological society. Not only do they lack job-related skills as a result of public schooling, many of them are functional illiterates. After twelve years of formal education, some students can neither read nor write their own names. Obviously, many of these individuals are from the lower quartile of their classes. Yet, in many cases, these illiterates are students who have achieved both good grades and the commendations of their instructors. As a result, today's courts are filled with irate parents and taxpayers bringing suits against school districts for failing to teach their children. (Television special, "American Schools Are Flunking The Test," American Broadcasting Company, May 27, 1976.)

In a recent study of adult functional competency in the United States conducted by the University of Texas, it was determined that 23 million Americans (one-fifth of the adult population) have difficulty coping with everyday chores like shopping, getting a driver's license or reading an insurance policy. Another 39 million Americans were reported to be barely getting by with their skills as workers, consumers, citizens, and parents. The Texas study found that less than one-half of the adult population (46) percent is considered proficient in dealing with the complexities of modern living. (Adult Functional Competency: A National Study, 1975.)

As a result, it is evident that an unbelievable paradox exists. Students spend more time and effort in English courses than in any other subject required in public education. Yet, all indications are that verbal skills, so necessary in our culture, are deteriorating at an alarming rate. *(Newsweek*, December 8, 1975) *The problem* is not limited to English and the development of good verbal skills. Deficiencies in basic quantitative and problem-solving skills have also been noted and well-documented. *(Adult Functional Competency, A National Study*, 1975.) Similar shortcomings in study skills are also evident; yet all courses seek to teach students good study habits and procedures.

To date, most of the attention and public concern have focused upon high school graduates who have skills' deficiencies and shortcomings. An almost overlooked segment of our society are those millions of Americans who decide for a variety of reasons to drop out of the public school experience. It is virtually impossible to obtain nationwide data on public school attrition. Where data are available, they vary considerably from state to state and from region to region. Widespread mobility is one factor in the paucity of attrition data. Another common factor is that schools have never been asked, much less required, to report on such developments. Indications are that 30 percent of all first graders in the United States never complete the public school experience. In some Southern states, fully 50 percent never graduate from high school. And for minorities and poor whites, the attrition figure approaches 70 percent. All the studies since 1970 indicate that attrition in public schools has not leveled off but is actually increasing, and the students who are dropping out of public schools today are not limited to black and brown and Southern poor whites, but sons and daughters of our best-educated citizenry. If high school graduates are deficient and have difficulty coping in modern America, consider the problems facing those Americans without a high school education.

Who Are the Students?

At least two dozen different terms have been used to define or describe these "problem" students who, for the moment, decide to stay in school. Common ones include: "disprivileged," and, "disadvantaged", "nontraditional",

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or "new". In his recent study of community college responsiveness to such students, Moore selects the term "high risk" since it has not been as widely used and abused. (Moore, 1976, p. 2.) Moore also documents that accurate descriptions of high risk students abound in the literature. We know, for example, that such students have discernible deficiencies in such skill areas as reading, writing, and arithmetic. They do not understand the mechanics of good study procedures. They have unimpressive standardized test scores, and their backgrounds of race, culture and class place them at a disadvantage in contention with the large number of students applying for entry into college. "Unfortunately," Moore writes, "this description of cultural and educational disadvantages has been widely accepted not as a tentative hypothesis but as a confirmed explanation of the poor achievment among high-risk students." (Moore, 1976, p. 3.)

". . . the problem of remedial education is no longer one of minorities."

In fact, if one examines the studies and reports relating to the problems of school underachievers over the past fifteen years, it is easy to conclude that "the problem" indeed was with our minority populations. Since the famous Coleman Report in 1966, more and more attention has been directed to the plight of the poor populations in our society. Coleman and his colleagues documented well that minority and poor white students fall farther and farther behind other students the longer they persist in school. For example, a minority or poor white youngster who was only one grade level behind his peers in grade one could expect to be three or more grade levels behind them by the time he reached grade twelve – if he persisted that long. (Coleman, 1966, pp. 274-275.) Whether by design or not, American public schools have served to screen out those individuals in our society who were presumed not to have the requisite abilities or talents to profit from the higher learning. And until quite recently, it was automatically assumed that those without that "requisite ability" came from our minority and poor white populations.

Cross correctly points out that many people concluded that the need for remediation in community colleges during the decade of the 1960's resulted from the influx of minorities into higher education. She says, however, that research clearly demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of low achievers who gained admission to colleges through open-door admission policies were not ethnic minorities. They were predominantly the white sons and daughters of blue-collar workers. (Cross, 1976, p. 34.)

According to a national study I have just completed of remedial education in both two- and four-year colleges with 300 institutions in our sample, it is now apparent that "the problem" is not limited to minority and disprivileged populations. It permeates the entire population. A feature article in *Newsweek* (December 8, 1975) summarizes the problem well: "What makes the new illiteracy so dismaying is precisely the fact that writing ability among even the best-educated young people seems to have fallen so far so fast." That same article reports that at the University of California at Berkeley, where students come from the top 12.5 percent of high school graduates, nearly half of last year's freshmen demonstrated writing skills so poor that they were required to enroll in remedial courses nicknamed "bonehead English". (p. 59.) Even the most selective universities in the nation are now developing remedial and developmental courses and programs to accomodate the needs of their students.

The students come from all walks of life, all levels of socio-economic backgrounds, and all levels of ability. They enroll in postsecondary institutions of all types – large and small, public and private, open-door and highly selective. In fact, much of the adult basic literacy training in the nation today is being conducted by postsecondary institutions. (Coleman, 1966, pp. 274-275.)

What I am saying to you is that the problem of remedial education is no longer one of minorities. Our study shows that institutions such as the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Chicago, the University of Texas, and Michigan State University – all those universities – are now enrolling thousands of students who are deemed deficient in basic verbal and quantititive skills. Ohio State University this fall expects to offer 350 sections of "bonehead English", and Ohio State University is *the* state university in Ohio and a selective institution by anybody's standards.

As a result of numerous manpower training and retraining programs today sponsored by the Department of Labor and Education, colleges are mounting massive programs to provide "catch up" courses for students with serious deficiencies in the verbal and quantitative areas. More and more high school dropouts are enrolling in such programs. Many of them are unemployed or on welfare; and they are frankly unemployable in today's economy. Furthermore, they can earn some income by getting paid for attending class. They do not have many options. Going to a community or technical college is one way to put food on the table next week, and perhaps secure a job at the end of the training program.

These "new students" bring to campus many characteristics much different from their traditional student counterparts. In terms of educational needs, the new student:

> . . . has not acquired the verbal, mathematical and full range of cognitive skills required for collegiate level work. Generally, he is a student whose grades fall in the bottom half of his high school class, who has not earned a (college preparatory) diploma, and is assigned to a high school which has a poor record for student achievement or who has been tracked into a general, commercial or vocational high school program . . . . Such a student will generally rank low on such traditional measures of collegiate admissions as the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) scores, high school average class standing, or (state) examination. (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970.)

It would be unfair to leave this discussion of students without calling special attention to the problem of minority students in our society. While it is true that students from all races and economic settings are leaving school ill-prepared, the plight of minority youngsters deserves special mention.

Not only are these students behind in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they have learned to fail as a result of their

prior schooling. They have experienced little success in school and have little expectation that they can succeed in their educational endeavors. More importantly, today's "losers" in school can expect little chance of "winning" outside of school. This phenomenon has not always been true in America. Even in the past twenty years, individuals who were not successful or interested in formal schooling could succeed or "make it" in society. This occurence is now almost impossible. There are virtually no options available today for students who don't succeed in school. So more and more of those who are unsuccessful in public school are going on for postsecondary experiences. Most have nowhere else to go.

Where Do They Go?

During the 1960's and until quite recently, students who were unsuccessful in public schools had little option but to enroll in a public community college. After all, these colleges espoused an egalitarian philosophy and, by law in most states, had to admit any high school graduate or others who could "profit" from instruction. They welcomed "problem" students into the college, if not into all curriculums. More importantly, they advertised the creation and development of special courses and services to "meet the needs" of these new clients.

For example, in California, students who graduate in the top 12.5 percent of their high school graduating class are eligible to attend the University of California; those who graduate in the top 33.3 percent of their high school graduating class may attend any of the California state colleges; everyone else has to attend community colleges. By definition, and by law in some states, community colleges are "second chance" institutions extending educational opportunity to those Americans who missed their first chance while in public school. These institutions admit all high school graduates and other individuals who "can profit from instruction". It was in the community college that postsecondary efforts at remedial education became widespread two decades ago.

In 1968, Roueche found that most community colleges had developed courses and/or programs for students with academic deficiencies and that the most offered courses were remedial English, remedial reading and remedial mathematics. Ten years ago community colleges were devoting much money, time, and space to providing for the learning needs of the increasing numbers of students enrolling who lacked the basic rudiments of reading, writing, and study skills. (Roueche, 1968.) That those early efforts were mostly unsuccessful will be documented later. What is important here is that such students had to enroll in a two-year college until the last two years. In 1973, Karabel reported that one-third of all students entering higher education entered through the doors of a community college. In California, the figure was over 80 percent. Further, he was able to document that low socio-economic status was linked to enrollment in community colleges. (Karabel, 1973.)

As a result of the admission pressures of the 1960's, students with learning problems were denied admission to the more prestigious four-year colleges. (Gordon, 1972; Kendrick, 1965.) Until quite recently, it was possible to show clearly the relationship that existed between type and incidence of postsecondary enrollment and socio-economic status, ethnicity, prior educational experience and concomitant achievement level. All of that has changed and maybe the supply and demand has been a factor, but as I said earlier today, we're finding that almost every college and university in the United States, especially the public ones, are engaged in redemptive programming for students who come into their doors without the requisite skills necessary to succeed at the college level. The paradox is that the most selective universities – that is, those universities who recruit from only the top two percent, five percent, ten percent of high school graduating classes – are finding that those youngsters don't have the skills necessary to make it.

Now it makes sense to assume that the lower quartile of high school graduates or those 30 percent who don't

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finish high school would have some problem in college. But what we're finding today is that having a high school diploma with an A average doesn't necessarily insure literacy at the college level. In fact, in a study I did last fall in Texas – which I don't think, by the way, is at the bottom of the pile in the South – we found that in any community college, not in a remedial English course but in a regular college English course, the average student in the state of Texas is reading on the ninth grade level. I suspect that if you look at your university populations you would find not much difference.

What's more amazing from the standpoint of dealing with the problem is that in any English class, the teacher in that English class at the college level is likely to find nine grade levels of reading ability alone represented in one class of 30 students. That it is not only the mean, that is, the average, at the ninth grade level, but she's likely to find students all the way from illiteracy to tenth or eleventh grade reading levels. Here's a teacher, now, charged with developing in one semester or one year reading skills, writing skills, composition skills that the public schools were charged with developing or should be developing or ought to have developed over 12 years of public schooling.

And this is the problem four-year colleges as well as two-year colleges are facing.

Even prestigious universities like Stanford readily admit to filling basic classes with straight-A students who enter with slovenly and inefficient study habits.

In an effort to remedy these problems, Stanford has established its own Learning Assistance Center (LAC), a remedial program for the bright. (*Time*, 1975.) LAC, begun in 1972, now serves more than 50 percent of Stanford's freshmen each year. By far the most demanded class at the center is LAC-10, a three-hour credit course in reading skills for students with reading deficiencies. The Stanford program is representative of university responses to "the problem" now being faced by four-year institutions.

It is not fair to state here that four-year colleges and universities have modified their philosophies and mission statements. They have not, as a rule, adopted more egalitarian views of higher education. Many have responded to the simple laws of supply and demand. At present, there are more vacancies in colleges than there are students wanting to enroll. In many states, universities are admitting students today who would have been denied admission just five years ago. In fact, some universities today report that average SAT scores for entering freshman are 100 to 200 points below those required for enrollment as recently as 1971.

At this point, we should emphasize the crucial role played by predominantly black colleges in providing educational opportunity to thousands of Americans who have limited options (if any at all) to attend other colleges. Their impact has been and still is great. (Gordon, 1975, p. 13.)

What Has Been Done?

It is not our purpose here to investigate the multiple causes of increased student attrition and decreased achievement in public school education. We do believe, however, that the teacher-dominated classroom and the typical outmoded curriculum are heavy contributors, and there are obviously others. Our focus here is to investigate what postsecondary institutions do to extend educational opportunities to those who have been ill-served by public schooling.

Remedial programs are not new to American higher education. Cross reports that Wellesley College introduced the first course in remediation for academic deficiencies in 1894. (Cross, 1976, p. 24) These early courses focused upon the poor study habits of students in college. As a result, they were basically how-to-organize and how-to-study courses. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, remedial reading courses were introduced and added to the how-to-study ones; writing development courses soon followed. All of these efforts occurred in university settings where access was generally available to any student who could pay tuition and fees.

By the 1950's and 1960's, enrollment pressures were being felt dramatically by universities and four-year institutions as more and more Americans sought educational opportunity beyond public schooling. Faced with more applicants than they could admit, universities and four-year colleges moved from non-selective admissions policies to what Cross calls the "heyday of educational meritocracy". (Cross, 1976, p. 26.) It was in the 1960's especially that four-year institutions began turning away those students who had any discernible learning problem. Even small, struggling four-year liberal arts colleges that had recruited "bodies" earlier in their histories now became "selective" institutions and required prospective students to take batteries of achievement and ability tests to determine which ones had the abilities and talents to succeed in college. Students who had learning or motivation problems were not high priorities. Some writers concluded that those four-year colleges and universities specialized in the recruitment of students who had no learning problems at all. (Roueche, 1972.) It would be wonderful to report here that such selective screening resulted in better retention and learning for those who survived the selective process. It did not. The odds remain that no more than half of those freshmen admitted into selective universities will ever graduate. Universities still succeed in killing half their students — individuals with no observable learning problems.

"In retrospect, it looks as if educators did everything possible to make sure that student success would be an impossibility in remedial programs."

As a result of the selective admissions development of the 1960's, efforts at remediation shifted to the "open-door" community college. By the late 1960's practically every two-year institution was making some institutional effort to provide redemption for the increasing numbers of students who enrolled without the basic rudiments of a high school education. By 1968, the most offered courses in American community colleges were remedial English, remedial reading, and remedial arithmetic. (Roueche, 1968.) Overnight the community college was thrust into remedial education.

If one examines those remediation efforts of the 1960's, several assumptions are common to all. One is that these early programs all emphasized skill development. Courses and activities focused on reading, writing, and quantitative skills. Courses in study skills were also common. It was assumed that if somehow students could just develop these "crucial" academic skills, they would be able to succeed in college courses.

Another assumption was that if such courses and programs were offered, the "problem" would be solved. In fact, during the 1960's our nation pretty well disproved the old American myth that if you spend enough time and money on any problem, the problem could be solved.

During the 1960's colleges offered remedial courses, allocated faculty and resources, and assumed that this effort of time and money would remedy the deficiencies of new problem students. Few colleges bothered to evaluate any of their endeavors. A lack of evaluation is not new to American education. Rarely do schools and colleges evaluate their endeavors. We know and accept the other American myth that "education is good for you." Few persons have ever questioned the benefits derived from the educational process. Only in the 1960's were questions seriously raised about the *product* of that *process*.

While remedial programs were commonplace in community colleges by 1968, there was little, if any, evidence to evaluate their impact. In those few colleges where evaluation data were available, the results were disastrous. As many as 90 percent of all students assigned, advised, or counseled into remedial programs never completed them. Nine out of ten students failed in programs designed to improve their chances for academic success. Little wonder that critics of community colleges soon referred to the open-door admission policy as a "revolving door" admission policy – easy to enter and even easier to exit. Remedial education in the 1960's was ineffectual at best. Some community colleges, convinced that "the problem" could not be solved with remedial courses, abandoned their efforts at remediation. (Roueche, 1968.) We have heard more than one college president advance the notion that colleges should be seriously questioned on the practice of spending good money on bad students. Many educators of the 1960's and early 1970's were buying the theory advanced by Arthur Jensen in 1969 that minorities (blacks in particular) are innately less able than whites to learn the content of the school curriculum. (Jensen, 1969.) This led many colleges to defend their "access model" of education. Their suggestion was to ensure each student equal opportunity, but not to assume responsibility for designing programs where each student could succeed. After all, most educators have learned in formal graduate courses that all students do not have the abilities to learn at the "college level". In fact, the idea that colleges and educators have responsibility for designing programs and courses where students can succeed is still a radical idea in American education.

Looking closely at the practices of those early remediation efforts in community colleges, it is little wonder that most students failed to complete courses and programs. There was little agreement in those days as to what the proper objectives of such programs should be. There was national debate as to whether such courses and programs should remedy deficiencies, redirect students to other activities, keep them out of the labor market and, hopefully, out of trouble, or "cool them out" (Clark, 1960), that is, convince them that higher education was not a realistic option for them.

In those early days, faculty members were "assigned" to teach remedial courses. Most often, the beginning teacher (right out of graduate school with a narrow field of academic specialization) was given the low-level remedial assignment with the promise that over time he could "earn" the right to teach "regular" courses and perhaps a few specialized courses in his field of interest. Those teachers were told, "Just do the best you can. We have to admit anybody who shows up and we have to offer them something. Don't worry if they don't make it. They haven't succeeded anywhere else." There were no graduate programs to prepare faculty members for such assignments, and those selected to teach were usually convinced that such students were simply not "college material". Few of these early programs offered the student any academic credit for his time, money, and effort. In summary, students were being assigned to courses where administrators and teachers alike expected students to perform poorly. Almost to guarantee that such expectations came true, text materials were selected that were identical to those used in regular college courses for students not in need of redemption. Furthermore, few bothered to find out anything about the abilities and skills of those students they were instructed to teach. It was common to find text materials written on a 13th or 14th grade reading level required of students in remedial programs who could not pass an 8th grade reading test. (Roueche, 1968.) In retrospect, it looks as if educators did everything possible to make sure that student success would be an impossibility in remedial programs.

By 1973 a few community colleges were making progress in their attempts to design programs for "problem students" that resulted in increased student persistence in college, improved achievement, and often improved student self-concept. (Roueche and Kirk, 1973.) These select institutions had decided to design programs and courses based upon the need of students. Teachers were selected from volunteers who indicated not only interest in working with nontraditional students, but actual preference over other teaching assignments. One college president told us how one of his best English teachers asked to teach students who did not like English because "it was no challenge teaching bright kids who can learn with or without a teacher". Credit for courses and other learning experiences was provided the student. Appropriate texts and learning materials were selected and some of the truly innovative colleges adopted books that their students could read and understand. There were community colleges that made conscious decisions to change the basic program design in American higher education. These colleges actually wanted to assist students in their learning and personal development. They were rejecting the idea of a college whose primary function was to sort and categorize students. They got serious about designing courses and programs that indeed accommodated the learning needs of their students. Their results attest to the validity of their ideas and commitments. (Roueche and Kirk, 1973.)

Sadly, there was little overall evidence in 1973 that general efforts with remedial courses and programs were any better than they were in 1968. Evaluation of such efforts was still practically nonexistent and it was common to see colleges continue to attempt to make the old, tired, ineffective formula for remedial education work. Consider the absurdity of the following remedial program design, still common in 1973:

STUDENT	Remedial English	
	Remedial Reading	To
ENTERS	World Civilization	Regular
	Biology	Curriculum
PROGRAM	Mathematics	

The entering student has a deficiency in verbal skills (as do most of today's entering students) and is counseled into two remedial courses to remedy his communications deficiencies. The student is judged to have sufficient proficiency in mathematics to enroll in a regular college math course. Now, look carefully at the proposed program. While the student is working to develop appropriate communications skills to the point that he can succeed in other courses, he is

enrolled in three college level courses where verbal proficiency is an absolute requirement for success. Can you imagine a student handling the typical biology or history text if he has serious verbal deficiencies? By the time the student is beginning to improve his verbal skills, he has already flunked his regular courses because he couldn't handle the reading and writing assignments. Sounds ludicrous, doesn't it? Yet, this was the common remedial program design as recent as 1973.

What Is Being Done Today?

Today taxpayers, parents, and a large number of educators feel that the "problem" will only be solved as massive reforms are undertaken in public school education. That theory has been tested at least in part over the past decade. Since the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, federal funds have been available by the billions to support educational reform and improved practice in the public school sector. While some individual schools can point to specific improvements, the overall picture is discouraging. Attrition has not been reduced; in fact, today's public school dropouts are "good" students, students with good grades and high test scores. And, as indicated earlier, indices of achievement demonstrate that achievement is no better now than it was ten years ago; some assert that it is worse today. The questions being asked today by parents and school board members are these; "Why should we have to keep paying to get the schooling job done?" "Why can't we teach children to read and write in twelve years of schooling? After all they spend more time in English than in any other course."

And, "Why can't we teach our students?" – tough questions, all of them! They are especially troublesome at the present time when respected educators like Benjamin Bloom are asserting that perhaps 97 percent of our population can learn any subject given well-designed instruction and enough time. It suggests that schools have been organized for the convenience of teachers and administrators (which they have) and that real reform will call for a radical rethinking of our approach to education. It certainly does not beckon a *return to basics,* as many are advocating today. It does call for schools to be therapeutic by design and facilitative of student growth and development. Since that change may take a few years, not many of us will be around to see it.

But I do believe that the problems can be dealt with and can be solved. Let me focus on what is being done at the college level and indicate to you that a few colleges are having some success in overcoming the deficiencies students bring with them. In our study of 300 two- and four-year colleges we identified about 20 colleges that take students from all backgrounds and are successful with them. Success here is defined as taking those students who enroll with skills deficiencies, study skills problems, poor motivation, or bad attitudes, and keeping them in school for a year. Some students who didn't succeed or dropped out of public school, are persisting in a community college or a four-year college for a year. That they are remaining in school says something. Just staying in school may be a low measure of a program's impact, but you can't teach them if they are not there and the fact that the kinds of students who dropped out before or were unsuccessful before are now staying in school indicates that something positive is being done on that level.

Secondly, many of these colleges can document that those students who come in with a 7th or 8th grade reading level are increasing their reading skills by two and three grade levels in one semester. There's also evidence that the students are not only staying in school, but they're developing the kinds of skills they need to be successful in a collegiate environment, and I think in an environment beyond college. The good news I have is that a few colleges are really getting on with the business of redeeming or remediating the deficiencies that students bring with them. The picture overall is quite bleak in that most of the colleges in our sample had as many as 50, 60, and in some places 70 percent of the students who enroll in these remedial or developmental programs failing to complete the program itself, let alone developing the skills necessary to go on into other college courses. So on the national level, the offering of programs, the offering of courses in no way assures the problem will be solved.

". . . a few colleges are having some success in overcoming the deficiencies students bring with them."

In fact, during the 1960's if we didn't learn anything else in our society, I think we learned that just spending more and more money, hiring more and more people, does not assure the solution to a problem. And that's the dilemma. My own University of Texas runs a special program every summer for minority students recruited from Texas to the University of Texas. I believe the University is serious about wanting to provide access to those students and yet if you look at what happens to those students recruited during the summer, you find that they come in the summer for a special preparatory program to get ready to go into the university yet half of them don't make it through the summer; and in my view we may be doing the students a greater disservice to recruit them and not have a program to meet their needs than to leave them alone.

For society, the problem is one of tremendous magnitude. What are we going to do in a "future shock" world where skills are absolutely required for a person to function and provide for himself/herself if we don't prepare him/her with the skills necessary to make it in our society? We're spending more in the United States for prisons and keeping people in prison and on welfare than we are for education. And yet I don't think that the answer is to spend more money on education unless we begin to look at programs that are working and require other colleges and other teachers to build models around success. I don't think you can wait until the college level; I don't think you can wait until students get into college and then say, "Let's try to do it in six months."

This is the dilemma facing American higher education. Not only are colleges and universities called upon to prepare individuals with skills for immediate employment and with "coping" skills to survive in an increasingly complex world, they are also asked to please teach Johnny to read and write. If that were not a difficult enough task, they are

being asked to do it all with reduced revenues and dwindling public support.

Consider that the Ohio Board of Regents has refused to reimburse state colleges and universities for their remedial programs, arguing that the taxpayers should not be charged a second time for something they have already paid the high schools to accomplish. As I noted earlier, Ohio State University already operates 350 sections of redemptive freshman English at a cost of $500,000 and will now have to cover that cost out of other funds since the Regents will not fund these catch-up courses. (*New York Times*, March 7, 1976, p. 1, 14.)

It is a ridiculous situation. Students can neither read nor write. Colleges and universities now attempt to design courses to develop the necessary skills and abilities in students, while funding agencies deny monies for the new programs because the monies have already been expended on public school education. Until public schools are held accountable for student performance on a grade by grade assessment, the sorry state of affairs will continue. For the moment, the problem is tossed to American colleges and universities to solve, but with little if any promise of adequate support.

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COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

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In its most fundamental sense, this country's concept and process of collective bargaining grew out of deep-rooted worker concerns about employment opportunities and conditions. While the rate of unionization, as well as its scope, varied considerably from industry to industry, economic realities provided the central thrust. Existing unemployment or impending unemployment, unsatisfactory salaries, or unsatisfactory employer-employee relationships constituted the circumstances that fueled the confrontations in the steel mills and coal mines, in large scale industrial plants and in transportation throughout the 1930's and 1940's.

Initial moves toward unionization among public elementary and secondary school teachers in the 1960's arose largely from the fact that the profession had become increasingly more masculine in the post World War II era. Returning veterans and other male entrants into the teaching profession found themselves incapable of earning what, in their judgment, constituted an appropriate level of family income. How rapidly public school faculties unionized can be seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY BARGAINING UNITS[1]

1965	1966	1970	1976
391†	1,531	3,900	approx. 10,500

†(No contracts; in 1965 laws were passed in six states permitting public employees to organize)

College and university professors showed considerably greater reluctance to accept collective bargaining strategies. Traditionally, the individual academic viewed himself as a member of a profession which was quite different and distinct in background, educational requirements and outlook from that of public school teachers. The associational activities in which academicians engaged were national, discipline-based organizations. Many faculty members additionally joined the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), which was primarily concerned with issues of academic freedom, with tenure questions, and with the advancement of the interests of the profession generally.

For many years the AAUP pointedly refused to accept the principles of collective bargaining as appropriate to higher education and resisted strong efforts to make the organization adopt trade-union orientation.

Among the most immediate contributory factors to turn faculties toward unionization were a number of realities and stresses which impinged very directly on their economic conditions, their employment opportunities, their career developments, and their perceptions of changing power relationships among campus components. Among these factors were the following:

- enrollment declines and shifts, necessitating increased administrative planning;
- inflationary pressures, Ph.D. surplus, and unemployment;
- strengthened administrative structures and increased statewide coordination and governance of college and university systems.

Following a period of doubling and tripling of college and university enrollments in the 1950's and 1960's had come a precipitously declining birth rate in the 1970's casting very dark clouds over the campus. As seen in Table 2, the number of youths in the 18- to 21-year age group will be sharply reduced after 1980. So much of a decline will occur, in fact, that by 1984 the number of persons in this college-age group will be close to that number which had faced the campus back in 1973, and by 1990 the picture will be bleaker still. This leads Lyman Glenny to insist that "the 1980's will reintroduce an instability at least as great as the recent change in the rate of high school graduates who attend college."[2]

To be sure, changes in enrollments do not affect all segments of the postsecondary spectrum uniformly. While collegiate enrollment in some four-year institutions has decreased already, enrollment in two-year colleges has tended to increase, and enrollment in the vocational sector has soared notably. Nor is the enrollment picture geographically identical. In urban sectors, and particularly in the urban areas of the "sunshine belt," enrollment will continue to rise steeply into the 1980's.

This unevenness in the enrollment picture is further accentuated by differences between academic disciplines. Enrollments rose in the applied areas of business adminis-

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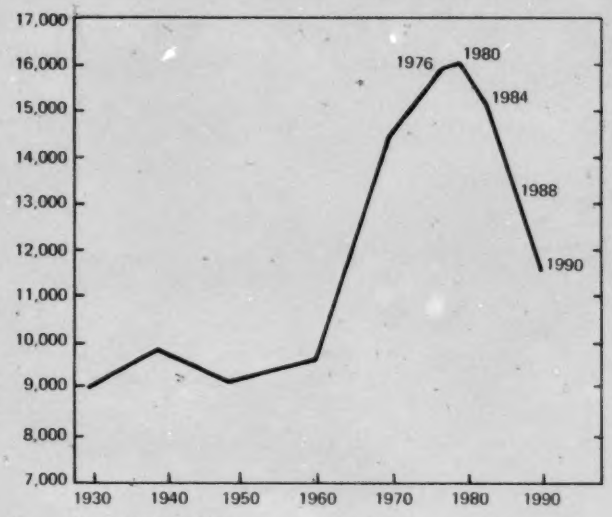
TABLE 2
PERSONS 18-21 YEARS OLD (IN THOUSANDS)[3]



Bureau of Census, 1973

tration and in certain technical fields, while enrollments tended to decrease in the humanities and in education – especially in education in view of the existing surplus of teachers and the declining demand for elementary and secondary faculties due to the plummeting birth rates.

Faculty apprehensions and concerns at American colleges and universities were further exacerbated in the early 1970's by rising consumer prices accompanied by a marked loss in purchasing power (see Table 3) and by a rapidly increasing number of Ph.D.'s seeking employment and not finding academic placement. Allan M. Cartter, professor of higher education at the University of California at Los Angeles and a widely recognized academic economist, anticipates at best a growth of new teaching positions on the order of 100,000 openings during the decade of the 1970's.[4] Yet more than 250,000 new Ph.D.'s are expected to be produced in the 1970's, according to projections by the National Center for Educational Statistics. This gap is expected to grow in the 1980's, as the numbers of college-age persons decline.

TABLE 3
TRENDS IN POST-SECONDARY FACULTY COMPENSATION AND THE COST OF LIVING INDEX[5]

Years	% Increase in Compensation	% Increase in the COL Index
1965 to 1970	36.0%	19.7%
1970 to 1975	27.2%	32.3%

**Each percentage increase is figured on a larger base each year.*

Aside from unwanted Ph.D.'s, extensive unemployment among recent college graduates due to economic recession or business slowdown did little, of course, to enhance the image of universities or of their faculties.

While it is difficult to prove whether the events of an earlier decade – student demonstrations, faculty teach-ins, and campus unrest – may have contributed to a declining prestige of the academy, poor placement statistics once again raised serious questions about the wisdom or indispensability of higher education "for the masses." With this by way of background, it should not be surprising that declining birth rates, shifting enrollments, and rising costs persuaded legislators and governors to reassess the share of fiscal resources that should be directed to universities, especially as competing social expectations required additional funding and the pressure on the setting of priorities intensified.

In the name of greater public accountability and fiscal constraints, governors and legislators have been demanding more careful documentation of spending, better management controls, and more careful planning. A concurrent situation which has threatened the sense of autonomy of the American campus has been the development of multi-campus systems, the establishment of statewide higher education coordinating commissions or statewide governing boards with significant program and budgetary review powers over systems and system components.

The Where and What of Academic Collective Bargaining

Institutions that were first to register the impact of post-secondary collective bargaining were the nation's two-year junior, technical or community colleges, and the emerging regional or comprehensive four-year state colleges or universities.

There were a number of reasons why faculties in these types of institutions opted for collective bargaining while their colleagues in the more research or prestige-conscious institutions held back.

- Junior colleges were historically closely associated to the secondary schools. In some states – at least in their earlier developments – such colleges often shared common facilities with the public schools and were subject to that system's governing school boards.
- Not infrequently, junior college faculties and administrators were actually drawn from the staffs of the public schools.
- Traditional college or university mechanisms of faculty power – faculty senates, departmental organization by discipline and peer group recruitment and evaluation – were customarily lacking at the junior college level.
- Administrators at these institutions, many of them coming from the ranks of secondary school principalships or superintendencies, were not accustomed to the university model of shared campus authority and decision-making.
- Many of the four-year institutions where collective bargaining advanced most rapidly came out of the teachers college program structure, precisely the kind of institution where the declining demand for teachers caused serious enrollment problems and where the identity crisis – clarification of rule and mission for the future – was most conducive to creating faculty uncertainty and insecurity.

What representational choices the approximately 100,000 faculty members have made and the nature of the 461 collective bargaining units presently operative (up from 401 in 1974-75) emerges from Table 4.

Not shown here, of course, are some of the colleges and and universities where collective bargaining was turned down by faculties voting on the issue or rejecting particular representational agents. Among such campuses reported in May of 1976 were the following:

- New York University, Ohio University, Oregon Institute of Technology, Rensselaer Polytechnical Institute, the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, the Universities of Montana, Pittsburgh and Vermont;
- Antioch, Manhattan and Oberlin Colleges, the Universities of Colorado, Miami and Toledo, Fordham, Michigan State, Seattle and Villanova Universities.[7]

Actually, before such issues can be resolved as to whether collective bargaining is to occur or not and which of the various contending organizations will be selected to be the exclusive faculty representative, a number of important preliminaries need to be addressed. (We spent three years in the preliminaries.) For example, if authority to bargain collectively is permitted or mandated by state public employee relations statutes, generally the following items require early determination:

- In a multi-campus system of colleges or universities will the unit of representation be the campus-based unit or the system-based unit? (Will collective bargaining be carried out on a campus-by-campus basis or will there be a master contract?)
- Should departmental chairmen or chairwomen be considered managerial personnel or should they be included in the faculty unit?
- Who precisely designates the employer representative body – the governor, the director of personnel, the university's own governing board, or the board of the total university system?

The items that are subject for inclusion in a collective bargaining contract are obviously of central importance. What goes into a contract? Generally, "the scope" of bargaining is statutorily defined or given. Excluded in a majority of jurisdictions from contractual negotiations are such managerial rights as –

- (Academic) program, number of staff, kind of staff, hiring/firing, job assignment, supervision, level of funding, and selection of administrative officers . . .[8]

Notice I said excluded from the scope of collective bargaining. That does not mean that administrators or boards can go merrily and make decisions in these areas. Many of these newly emerging statutes say that there has to be a meeting and conferring. Very quickly you will find that, as any other profession, collective bargaining has its jargon, and the two critical terms are the distinction between collective bargaining negotiation and the matter of meeting and conferring. Meeting and conferring means that, in effect, you receive input, suggestions, advice, opinion, and that's all. Negotiating means that, in effect, you must resolve the issues that are subject to negotiation and arrive at some kind of conclusion.

While most states will not permit the employer to "bargain away" such managerial prerogative, there are provisions in various laws that allow and even direct an advisory "meeting or conferring" on these as well as other subjects of common interest to faculties and to administrators. What will be found, as a rule, in most contracts is language relating to such items, among others, as:

- definition of parties and formal recognition
- assurance of academic freedom
- associational rights
- management rights
- salary determinations (provisions for merit pay if such is mutually acceptable)
- pay for overload, summer session, insurance, travel, severance pay, leaves of absence

TABLE 4
SUMMARY OF FACUTLY BARGAINING DECISIONS[6]

	4-Year Campuses			2-Year Campuses			Grand
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total	Total
AAUP	18	23	41	2	0	2	43
AFT	50	11	61	73	4	77	138
NEA	39	11	50	129	2	131	181
AAUP-AFT	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
AAUP-NEA	3	0	3	7	0	7	10
AFT-NEA	13	6	19	18	0	18	37
Other	4	9	13	37	1	38	51
Total Agents	128	60	188	266	7	273	461
Bargaining rejected	15	36	51	7	1	8	59

Note: AAUP – American Association of University Professors; AFT – American Federation of Teachers; NEA – National Education Association

- faculty involvement (extent of) in recruitment, promotion, evaluation, or separation
- retrenchment provisions and tenure rights
- grievance procedures.

Many of our colleagues are very unhappy about the term *management rights*. They went into education not to be big bosses, but to do good in the world and all the other fine things that teachers are supposed to be doing. And suddenly our deans and our presidents are called managers, and that is not very congenial to many of them. But, nonetheless, management rights are the prerogatives of the people – speaking through their legislators, their governors, and boards – on matters pertaining to the campus and university.

In the area of salary determination, we had a very tough situation in our union. A campaign was organized on the campus on the basis that the union would never agree on merit pay. Our board and our administration took the position that we would never go for a contract that did not include merit pay of some kind. We were open to the procedure, but the concept of performance-based salaries, at least a share of the salary based upon performance, to us seemed absolutely indispensable for managerial stewardship. That was one of the toughest issues, and I must tell you, it held up the final contract for months and months. But we survived with a merit of performance standard provision for faculty compensation that makes it essentially the president's determination, with advice, as to what it will be but, in the final analysis, it is the president of the institution who must make some of these personnel judgments.

Retrenchment is the toughest and most painful of all the areas in which to obtain concurrence, and consensus. This is obviously the critical item, if my thesis that most of the factors leading towards collective bargaining were externally-based factors is sound.

There is a tremendously complicated discussion around whether grievance procedures should be internal to the system, to what extent should they be external, and whether there should be required binding arbitration. The implications of binding arbitration are central to relating management to faculties because you may find yourself in a situation where a third party arbitration makes judgment. There are enormous consequences for the education enterprise. Our board, on our advice, refused to consider arbitration as a valuable and responsible alternative. In effect, we would have had a strike if we had not been able to obtain a contract, but cooler, calmer, wiser counsels prevailed among our faculties and colleagues and we achieved a contract after three years of very tough and complicated negotiations without the arbitration of the contract itself.

The State Legislatures and Collective Bargaining

The state legislature has a key role in collective bargaining for the public institutions of higher education. Statutes passed by the legislature will form the "ground rules" upon which bargaining will take place. Based on our present experience, it is possible to discern some characteristics of the legislative response to collective bargaining.

- Most of the laws dealing with collective bargaining in higher education actually were either expansions or elaborations of laws authorizing collective bargaining in the public elementary and secondary school systems.
- Very few of the laws dealt specifically with higher education.
- In most of the laws, public school teachers, collegial employees and public employees in general were encompassed within one major statute.
- Collective bargaining legislation was primarily influenced by members of organized labor rather than by educators.
- Most laws have designated the state the corporate unit, that is the governor or the department of personnel, the ultimate employer. (For instance, in the state of New York it is not the state university board at this point or the board of regents of the State University of New York that are the spokesmen for the people of New York, but it is the governor's office.)
- The topics subject to the collective bargaining or the "scope of bargaining" vary considerably from state to state.
- State laws vary greatly with respect to the role of governing boards, the right of the authority to conclude contracts involving the agency shop, or contracts requiring binding arbitration, or the right to strike.[9]

"Retrenchment is the toughest and most painful of all the areas in which to obtain concurrence, . . . (in collective bargaining) . . ."

You may be interested to know that we didn't have one day of hearings at which I was able to testify on the collective bargaining measure. I could have, but the total ambience at that particular moment was such that if I had had to testify at a legislative hearing on this issue, very likely we would have been in an adversarial role. The mood of the legislature at this particular moment was a commitment to expand the principle from elementary and secondary to the college level. One of the elements that contributed considerably to the legislature's decision to pass a collective bargaining bill was the resentment of legislators to being lobbied intensively by faculty organizations for all kinds of particular detail. The halls were full of faculty association people who wanted certain things and finally legislators said, "Get the heck out of here; we've got a few other things to do than just deal with faculty problems, university problems. Why don't you find a way of settling this with your boards and with your people?" It was not entirely that simple, but this was an important contributing factor.

Two legal developments should be noted at this point which may affect the legislature's actions on collective bargaining. They are the *Hortonville*[10] and the *National League of Cities* vs. *Usery* cases.[11]

More and more state legislatures, in their eagerness to extricate themselves from excessive lobbying by faculty organizations facing a somewhat contracting teacher's

market, will likely embrace the collective bargaining strategy by their public employees subject to constraints on the right to strike, even though they may be fully aware that anti-strike provisions have not been overly efficacious. The *Hortonville* case, decided June 17, 1976, may increase the strength of these anti-strike provisions. In this case the Supreme Court held that the due process clause of the 14th Amendment did not entitle teachers to go on strike in violation of Wisconsin law, on the basis that the school board was not sufficiently impartial in its decision-making processes when it exercised discipline over the striking teachers by firing them.

The National League of Cities vs. Usery case provides different implications. According to knowledgeable sources, the likelihood of a new federal mandatory collective bargaining law for teachers was considerably weakened by this case – thus returning the matter to the state legislatures. In *Usery* the Court held that the 1974 Amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act were not binding on employees of the states and their political subdivisions, and that the employer-employee relationships in essential services were not within the authority granted Congress in the commerce clause of the Constitution.

It must be recalled that the legislative response to collective bargaining is still in the developmental stage. The court decisions cited previously will have their effect on both new legislation and revisions of older legislation. It is not known now whether statutes which have included universities and colleges in the framework of bargaining laws designed primarily for elementary and secondary educational bargaining will undergo major revisions to address the peculiar character of American higher education and its problems. But it is known that the legislatures will play a major role.

The coming of collective bargaining obviously has posed a number of important issues and decisions for the college or university community.

Among the particulars with which faculties and administrators had to wrestle are some of the following considerations.

- Should the campus unit join an independent unit organization or should they affiliate with such national faculty groups as the American Association of University Professors, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, or the Teamsters?
- What should be the relationship between faculty senates and other instrumentalities of faculty governance to the union and union governance mechanism?
- What were to be the rights of non-union members in such issues as program development, curricular questions, and faculty peer group evaluations?

Can you have a parallel structure? Hawaii is experimenting with a dual track system where the faculty in its professional frame of reference views itself as professional professors, so to speak, who are to deal with subjects of academic interest and concern distinct from economic issues of wages, hours, and possibly, living conditions in its narrow definition. A few institutions in other states have varying adaptations of the Hawaiian model. The attempt is to keep distinct and separate the faculty or the corporate academic policy-setting mechanism on the one hand and the economic bread-and-butter issues on the other hand. However, experienced administrators will tell you very quickly that if you're the president of that particular university you can very quickly be pulled between two power centers. Most presidents will prefer one way or the other, but they're not very eager to be caught in a crossfire between a faculty senate or council and a union.

Dr. Mitau

One interesting constitutional question that hasn't been settled is, "Can the legislature permit an employer agency, such as higher education board, to exceed its budgetary allocation through the collective bargaining process?" Or, to put it another way, "Can the legislature delegate its own fiscal responsibilities?" My own position would have been, "No, it cannot," because most state constitutions clearly designate the legislature as the proper agency to determine tax and budget matters. However, some courts have held differently. In Minnesota, our state legislature has decided not to wait for the courts to settle the matter and has made a very interesting change in the law, namely, from here on, in all contracts concluded between the colleges and the universities and the unions that these agreements must have legislative concurrence before they can go into effect.

General Observations About the Nature of Academic Collective Bargaining

Experience with collective bargaining varies from state to state and with the types of institutions comprising American higher education. Based on developments to date, it is possible to advance some general observations about the character and effects of collective bargaining.

1. Where elections were held, the majority of decisions seemed to favor unionization (in this connection, see Table 5).
2. National associations or union organizations have participated on the campus with advice, staff support, and some finances.
3. Contract negotiations are gradually becoming

TABLE 5

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PREFERENCES AND THE EFFECTS OF UNIONIZATION[12]

	All Faculty	Would vote for AFT	NEA	AAUP	Other	No Agent
Bargaining results in higher salaries	76%	94%	88%	83%	81%	48%
Individual salary bargaining is bad	54%	68%	66%	51%	66%	39%
Within rank, salary differentiation should be based on age or seniority	22%	39%	30%	14%	27%	14%
Unionization benefits junior faculty most	56%	48%	50%	62%	54%	60%
. . . .						
Non-tenured need protection of a faculty organization	45%	74%	64%	43%	46%	17%
. . . .						
Bargaining results in over-emphasis on rules	62%	34%	50%	62%	61%	85%
Bargaining reduces collegiality between administration and faculty	69%	43%	60%	69%	72%	89%
. . . .						
Student representatives should be allowed to take part in bargain	23%	32%	25%	22%	19%	15%

Note: . . . . indicates omitted data

more professional and sophisticated with both management and union representatives realizing the professional requirements and character of collective bargaining.

4. Grievance procedures have become more formal and institutionalized, but the demands for due process of law have made the entire negotiations process considerably more time-consuming and expensive – and more satisfactory to aggrieved faculties.
5. Students have viewed the coming of collective bargaining with some uncertainty and apprehension; believing the increasing power of faculties as possibly detracting from their rights and participatory decision-making powers on the campus – and incidentally, also as a possibility for increasing tuition.
6. Campus governance has been profoundly affected; while no precise conclusions can be drawn at this point, there is some evidence that faculty senates generally (and to some extent administrative leadership) have been weakened and opposed to union leadership on the campus – although the precise relationship between faculty senates and union local campus executive committees here again varies considerably from contract to contract.
7. Collective bargaining has without doubt complicated the governance of the universities by disrupting an alleged sense of collegiate unity and formalizing inter-university decision-making by campus components.
8. There is some evidence that collective bargaining has increased the faculty influence on budgets, that is, more money is spent in salaries than on other funds such as "research, sabbatical leave, travel, supplies and clerical services . . ."[13]

What Lies Ahead in Academic Collective Bargaining?

Definition of the precise role that students will play within campus collective bargaining is needed. At present, experience with student participation is limited. Massachusetts has the longest experience with student participation; the most salient principle emerging is that students perceive their role in bargaining as one of protecting their own interests. Oregon, Montana and Maine have passed statutes guaranteeing the students a voice in the collective bargaining process; in Oregon, the students are considered neutral, while in Montana they are considered members of the institutional bargaining team.

Questions of maintaining academic and programmatic flexibility will continue to arise in light of shifting enrollments and student interests. The role of college and university administrators in responding to needed curricular changes may well be contested by faculty unions, creating a direct challenge to the rights of educational administrators to exercise programmatic decision powers.

Tenuring policies will be a critical issue. The length of probationary appointments – the length of service necessary for the award of tenure – will become a major contractual issue. In addition, the extent to which tenure resides in a college department or university system will become a point of contention – especially as retrenchment procedures are activated.

Methods and types of arbitration procedures have not become standardized. Questions persist whether procedures should be made mandatory upon management or unions prior to the authorization of a strike, or whether manage-

ment should be permitted to refuse to enter into arbitration processes. Reluctance to the use of mandatory arbitration may arise to avoid resolving educational issues in grievance procedures conducted by those not accustomed or experienced in educational issues. You don't know who the third party will be.

In What Manner Will Higher Education Be Changed by Collective Bargaining?

It appears probable that the number of colleges and universities engaging in collective bargaining will continue to grow, although at different and probably not precipitous rates. There is considerable inclination among the prestigious research and private universities to resist this trend.

Faculties will increasingly exercise their available powers; to some extent this power will be expressed through the collective unit. This may mean that educational administrators will lose some of their former prerogatives and rights. The precise extent to which management will be weakened by growing faculty union power will depend on the nature of both the laws covering collective bargaining and the particular agreements reached between management and unions. Contracts can be written in such a way as to retain a great many managerial prerogatives.

The trend toward collective bargaining will also probably strengthen statewide management systems of multi-campus universities and increasingly involve other state agencies in the affairs of the university, particularly by coordinating boards and budget officers at the level of legislative and gubernatorial staffs. Those who are charged with bargaining, for example, will have to ascertain what the governor wants to spend, or what the legislature wants to allow, to get some kind of range within which to "dance the minuet." So inevitably, the governor is in it; inevitably the legislature is in it, not in the individualistic sense, in the pre-bargaining posture, but in the collective sense of allocating resources between competing public agencies and demand.

Resource allocations at the campus level will become more formalized and administrators will have to negotiate with faculty representatives in more structured, and technical or professional arenas.

Collective bargaining will likely enhance an adversarial relationship between unions and administrators. Whether this in turn will lead to confrontations of administrators and faculty remains to be seen.

Will the Academy Survive Unionization?

Fred E. Crossland in *Change* magazine (February, 1976), concludes that the American colleges and universities have become so complex that "collegiality will simply not work in such enterprises." The day of the "small and informally governed college is over . . . there is no turning back . . . faculty collective bargaining simply will not return American higher education to some age of presumed innocence. Neither will it destroy our colleges and universities. What it may do is help academics adjust to new realities. If participants in the educational enterprise accept that fact and view it positively, higher learning need not be diverted from – indeed can concentrate anew on – its mission of service, research, and teaching."[14]

The higher education scene will indeed change and change profoundly. What has yet to be determined is the manner in which such issues as student involvement in decision-making, the role of the non-union member, the direction in which administrators may exercise their responsibilities, and the extent to which the university has a partnership of the learner and the teacher can be resolved and maintained.

We do not know whether collective bargaining's negotiatory processes in an adversarial relationship can create the kind of climate in which often profoundly idiosyncratic and individualistic men and women can continue to seek the truth. Most of all, we do not know the impact of collective bargaining on academic quality and excellence – which is not an unimportant question.

Our goals and hopes for higher education continue to rest in the development of an institution in which the life of the mind and the life of the creative spirit will be respected and enhanced. We must never lose our vision of the colleges and universities as special places devoted to teaching, research, and the free exchange of ideas. For, as Henry Brooks Adams has said, "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."

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ACCREDITATION

Kenneth E. Young*

I have learned from bitter experience that (a) people not directly involved in accrediting know very little about the subject and (b) what they know is often wrong. That situation, by the way, is entirely the fault of those of us involved in accrediting. We have been so busy developing the process and trying to make it work well that we have not taken the time to explain it sufficiently to others, and that's one of the reasons I am here today.

First, I'll tell you a little about the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation (COPA). Then, I'll talk briefly about educational accrediting as a function, and I emphasize the word *educational* because the word *accrediting* is occasionally used for other purposes.

What is COPA? That question has been asked of me quite often during the past year and a half. And a few of the suggested answers have been more amusing than accurate. One individual thought that COPA sounded like the name of an Italian tranquilizer. Another guessed that it referred to a defunct night club in New York.

The Council on Postsecondary Accreditation (COPA) is a national, nonprofit organization. Its major purpose is to support, coordinate, and improve all nongovernmental accrediting activities conducted at the postsecondary educational level in the United States. In this role, COPA stands as a unique "balance wheel" in relation to:

- nearly 4,000 accredited institutions of postsecondary education that provide COPA's ultimate financial and philosophical support and that look to COPA as the mechanism for providing order and value to the total accrediting process, and
- about 50 (51 at the present time) regional and national accrediting bodies to which COPA accords recognition and with which COPA works closely in order to strengthen and improve nongovernmental accreditation.

Let me go back and elaborate on those two points. We are working with, we are supported by, we in fact are created by 4,000 accredited institutions. Those include public, private, and proprietary institutions and institutions that function at the graduate, undergraduate, and nondegree levels. We are working with institutions that are academic in focus and others that are vocational and specialized in nature. In one way or another we are dealing with almost anything you want to contemplate at the postsecondary educational level. Just to cite some examples to illustrate this point, among the institutions that are accredited or are in the process of seeking accreditation today are the Arthur D. Little Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Rand Corporation Incorporated in Santa Monica, California; the Community College of the Air Force (which really is a giant computerized registrar's office, transcripting service and credit equivalency determining operation in San Antonio, Texas); and one man who operates a school of specialized welding in New Mexico, who will take 15 students, and whose wife keeps the school records and books on the kitchen table.

"Accreditation cannot serve as a consumer protection guarantee . . ."

We also work with all of the nongovernmental accrediting bodies; that includes the regional associations, the national specialized institutional accrediting bodies (such as the American Association of Bible Colleges, the Association of Independent Colleges and Schools, the National Association of Trade and Technical Schools, and the National Home Study Council), and the professional associations that engage in accreditation: the American Bar Association, the American Medical Association, and on down the line. In addition, we have at the present about 22 organizations standing in line to seek recognition from COPA in order to function as accrediting bodies.

Our relationships with all of these groups can best be described, I think, as kind of a circularity of relationship. If you think of a circle, at one point on that circle you identify institutions of postsecondary education, all of these kinds of institutions I've talked about. They in turn have created and support COPA, which is another point on the circle, as a mechanism for trying to bring order and coherence to the whole process of voluntary, nongovernmental accreditation. COPA in turn recognizes, monitors, and works with the accrediting bodies, and they are a third point on the circle, in order to make sure that what they're doing meets certain requirements, to deal with problems that may come up in connection with accrediting, and to try to improve that process. The accrediting groups in turn then, in a sense, legitimize the educational activities of the institutions and help them improve their educational programs through their accrediting activities. So each of

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these three points relates to and, hopefully, ideally, assists the other in a circularity of relationships.

Such a large constituency makes COPA one of the broadest in scope of all the postsecondary educational organizations with national offices in Washington, D.C.

For example, the American Council on Education, which is normally regarded as the chief umbrella organization on behalf of higher education in the United States, only has about 1500 institutional members. We're dealing with about 4,000 member institutions. COPA is only one of some 40 service organizations housed in the National Center for Higher Education to use the word "postsecondary" in its title. Even so, it is one of the smallest national bodies in terms of staff and budget, preferring – in the tradition of nongovernmental accreditation – to make extensive use of volunteers in the conduct of its activities.

COPA became a legal entity on January 1, 1975. At that time, it incorporated the purposes, the duties, and the responsibilities of two national organizations of long standing – the Federation of Regional Accrediting Commissions of Higher Education (FRACHE) and the National Commission on Accrediting (NCA), both of which voluntarily dissolved their corporate bodies. In addition, COPA brought into its fold several national accrediting bodies not previously a part of either FRACHE or NCA, primarily those that have been active in the accrediting of proprietary schools. Thus, for the first time ever in the 80-year history of nongovernmental accreditation in our society, an organization was created that could serve as a national voice on behalf of all institutions and associations concerned with nongovernmental accreditation.

What is Accreditation?

Accreditation denotes that there has been a third-party examination and evaluation, usually by peers, through some mutually agreed-upon process in order to arrive at a quality determination of that which is being examined. The results of that assessment are then made publicly available as an indication to all interested parties of the quality that was perceived and attested to by disinterested parties.

Educational accreditation in the United States is unique; it is voluntary and nongovernmental. There is, to my knowledge, only one other country in the world that has a system of nongovernmental accreditation and it was modeled on the United States. That is the system in the Philippines. A few other countries have bits and pieces of what could be called voluntary accreditation. Most countries have, however, a ministry of education or something equivalent to that. The United States has no federal ministry of education or other centralized authority exercising single national control over educational institutions. The states assume varying degrees of control over education; but, in general, institutions of postsecondary education are permitted to operate with considerable independence and autonomy. States do play a major role in authorizing the operation of institutions of postsecondary education through chartering and/or licensing. States do approve specific educational programs that lead to licensure. States directly fund public institutions and states often provide financial support for students attending all sorts of institutions – public, private, and occasionally proprietary – and in a sense are indirectly funding education in all segments of postsecondary education. Some states engage in the equivalent of nongovernmental accreditation operating under various names, but I would say most states utilize and work with the results of nongovernmental accreditation.

Accreditation actually focuses on two concerns:

- *Educational quality* (this is the primary purpose of accreditation) is defined and interpreted within the context of the institution or program's statement of its own scope and purpose and compared with similar institutions and programs. In other words, we don't have some arbitrarily defined, outside definition of what a good institution should be. Each accrediting group has a set of criteria that it uses for evaluating purposes, but it approaches that institution or that program in terms of that institution's own statement of what the objectives of that institution or educational program are. And it then attempts to evaluate the effectiveness with which those objectives are carried out.

- *Institutional integrity* is a concept which has often been misunderstood. Accreditation at best can look at an institution or program and determine that the institution or program is what it says it is and does what it says it does, at a given point in time, namely at the time of the visit. Beyond that the accreditation groups can, and in most cases do, stand ready to field complaints that the institutions are not living up to their statements of purpose, to their published materials, and to go in and determine whether that is or is not the case. But accreditation as a function is not an appropriate mechanism for monitoring institutional behavior in all of its respects over a period of time. As one of the accrediting officials said, "We do not have EKG machines in every institution, sending back to us instantaneous information on the health of that institution. Accreditation often is misperceived as an instrumentality that is supposed to be giving some sort of Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval to institutions, saying that everything about this institution – its athletic programs, its development program, its investment porfolio – has been inspected and found to be acceptable. This is not the case; it cannot be the case given the nature of accreditation. Accreditation depends on volunteers – volunteers who are experts in education – and we're going to look at these institutions only periodically.

Educational quality is evaluated and encouraged by looking at conditions that are believed to be necessary and desirable to assure such quality (which is the process), and at evidence, to the extent that it is available, that the institution or program does indeed produce educational quality (which is the product).

Basic to the accreditation process, of course are:

- *The institutional self-study*, a comprehensive effort to assess the effectiveness of an institution or program in the light of publicly stated objectives, involving a broad cross-section of the institution or program's constituencies; and

- *Peer evaluation*, expert judgment from outside the institution, usually consisting of professional educators (faculty members and administrators), certain specialists according to the nature of the institution or program, and sometimes others representing specific public interests.

Accreditation cannot serve as a consumer protection guarantee for more than it attempts to evaluate. It cannot, for example, predict which institutions are likely to go bankrupt five or ten years from now. Accreditation cannot, by itself, serve as the basis for determining eligibility for federal funds; neither can it function as an arm of the government in policing compliance with various federal and/or state laws and program requirements. Accreditation cannot allow itself to be used for purposes other than evaluating and encouraging educational quality. Accreditation can, by distorting it, by pushing it one way or another, be used to accomplish other kinds of objectives, such as monitoring affirmative action programs, or dealing with tuition refund policies and so on. But it is not what accreditation was originally designed for; and to the extent that this rather sensitive tool is used for those kinds of purposes, we run the risk of lousing up the tool.

". . . it is a distortion of the role of accreditation to ask us to monitor and police fraudulent institutions."

For instance, it is a distortion of the role of accreditation to ask us to monitor and police fraudulent institutions. Accrediting groups are perfectly willing and anxious to do our job – namely, to evaluate educational quality. But we resist the notion that accrediting bodies ought to be used to check up on these diploma mills' refund policies and whether they have complied with all the federal regulations in regard to guaranteed student loans. We recommend a triad relationship of shared responsibility. We don't think the problem of these fly-by-night institutions will be solved unless the appropriate federal agencies, the appropriate state agencies and the accrediting bodies all get after these institutions in their own appropriate ways. We need to do a better job interrelating and communicating with each other in these matters.

In our judgment, the state's role is at the foundation. The states have primary responsibility for chartering and licensing institutions. There are a few federally chartered and licensing institutions – nine at the present time – but most institutions of postsecondary education come into being because a state has told them they might operate. The Education Commission of the States had a task force which developed legislation for chartering and licensing postsecondary institutions. Thus far, only three or four states have adopted the essential elements of that model legislation. If all states were to adopt the key portions of this proposed legislation and if they provide effective staffing to carry out the responsibilities, 50 to 75 percent of this deliberate "ripping off" of students would be stopped. Also, the various accrediting agencies need to inform the appropriate state agencies when violations of program requirements are detected. Furthermore, the federal government is going to have to improve the job it does at the program level. The General Accounting Office issued a report recently which roundly condemned the failures of the Office of Education in effectively policing and carrying out its own responsibilities in the guaranteed student loan program. For example, there are 8,500 institutions on the federal eligibility list for guaranteed student loans; meanwhile, there are approximately 4,000 accredited institutions. Therefore, as you can see, there are an awful lot of institutions on that eligibility list that are not accredited and with which accrediting groups do not ordinarily deal. How did these institutions come into being? They are chartered by the states. Therefore, the key responsibility is lodged in the capacity of the states to authorize and license; not with the accrediting agencies. We have enough trouble trying to make sure that this tool is effective in accomplishing its original purpose, which is evaluating educational quality – a tough thing to do. The burden is always on the accrediting body to demonstrate that its criteria and procedures are focused upon educational quality.

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Accrediting associations, in so doing, face a major challenge – that of validating their criteria; of developing supporting data that will demonstrate that the conditions regarded as necessary to produce educational quality do indeed perform that function. We're a long way from getting to where we need to be on that one.

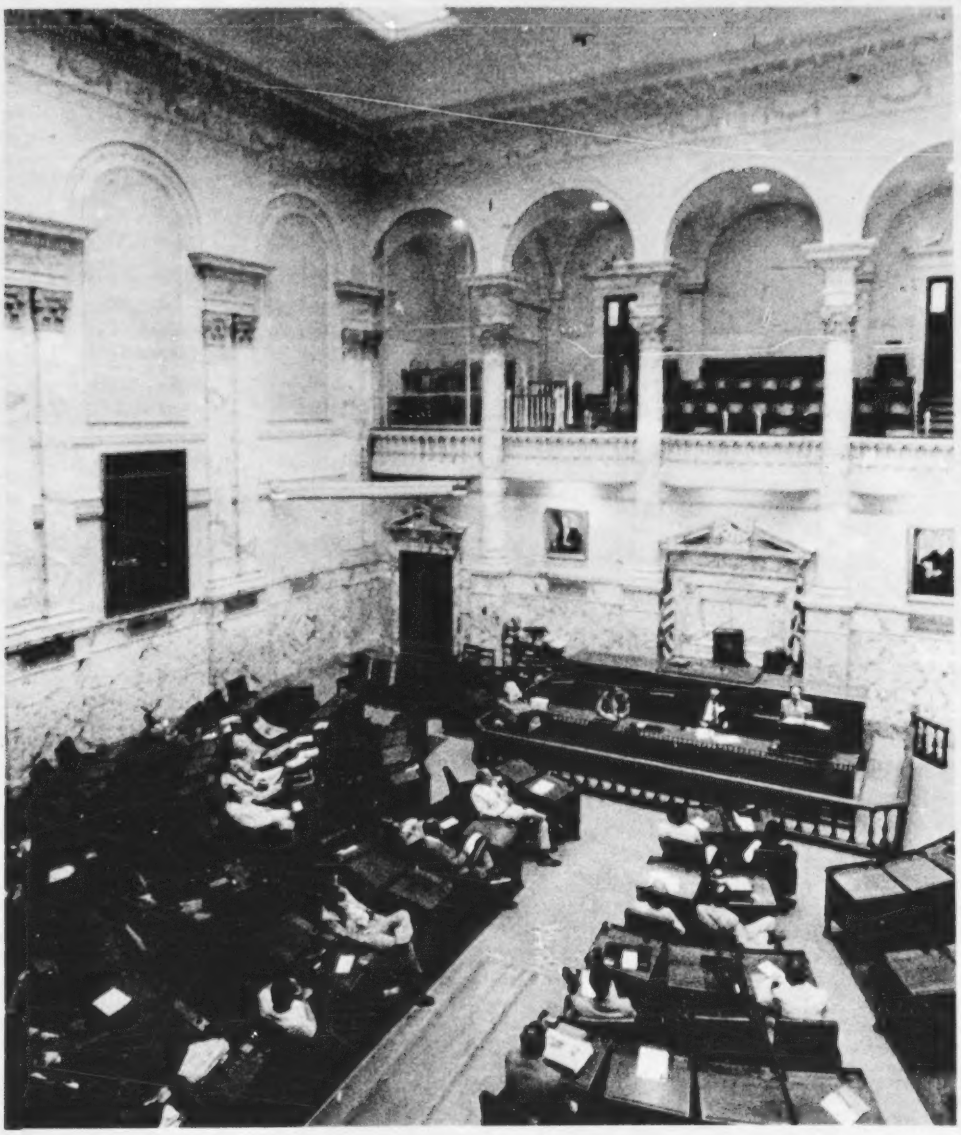
And the accrediting associations must devote a greater effort to identifying and assessing the actual outcomes of education in the form of student knowledge, skills, attitudes and abilities; and relating these back to the educational process.

We've commissioned a number of papers and sponsored various projects in an effort to address these and related questions. One of the papers we have recently published, for example, has to do with what we call the triad, or the necessary relationship between the federal government, the state agencies and the nongovernmental accrediting association in the eligibility determining process of the federal government.

We've published a recent paper on "Accreditation and the Public Interest," which takes the position that accrediting agencies are quasi-public bodies, even though we are located in the private sector, and that we have responsibilities for involving the public in that process, making the process as public as possible and responding to public needs. We've also recently published a paper called "Accreditation and Confidentiality" which deals with the question: Is it necessary to have a certain degree of confidentiality in the accrediting process? Why? To what extent? How can that best be carried out? How can we at the same time respond to the obvious public desire that this kind of activity, as well as any other public activity that impacts on society, be made as public as possible?

And, we are about ready to publish a paper on "Educational Auditing and Accountability," which is a notion that we can validate educational information coming out of institutions in the form of an annual statement on the educational status of that institution, just as each institution is required to produce an annual financial report validated by an outside authority – a certified public accountant. This kind of information could be printed in college catalogs and provide accurate, validated, comparable, helpful kinds of data for students and others who wish to know something about those institutions, as well as furnish information to the accrediting agencies as they go about their job of dealing with these institutions and evaluating their activities.

I already may have begun to tell you more than you want to know about accreditation, let me stop at this point and respond to your questions.



CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr.*

Tonight I find myself in the familiar position of making a plea on behalf of higher education to a group primarily of legislators, but this time there will be a major change which I feel sure you will welcome.

In this instance, I will not wind up by asking for several hundred million dollars.

Tonight I am more concerned with the output of our colleges and universities rather than with the input.

The German Chancellor Bismarck once set forth perhaps the extremes of the European philosophy of higher education.

He said that of the students at the University of Heidelberg one third dropped out from carousing, one third dropped out from overwork and the other third ruled Germany.

By contrast, our American philosophy was perhaps best illustrated by the most eminent Virginian of all time, Thomas Jefferson. Perhaps he, more than any others, understood that a self-governing people must be an educated people.

As early as 1779, Mr. Jefferson while Governor of our Commonwealth, proposed to the General Assembly of my state a system of free public schools for the greater diffusion of knowledge throughout the Commonwealth. Unfortunately, the members of that body did not possess Mr. Jefferson's vision, and it was 100 years before his dream was fully realized and a free public school system was created in our state.

It was Mr. Jefferson, who in writing his own epitaph, selected his paternity of the University of Virginia among the three contributions he considered most worthwhile.

Mr. Jefferson, too, dreamed of a university of which the principal product would be leadership, but his concept was quite different from Bismarck's.

Mr. Jefferson saw young men exposed to the wisdom of the ages, to history, to philosophy, who would have a clear basis of comparison when it came to judging the options open to them in helping to govern and direct the destiny of a new nation.

Our higher education in the South has experienced many swings of the pendulum, many changes in direction and philosophy since Jefferson's day.

I like to recall that it was Mr. Jefferson who, in addition to proposing a public free school system, proposed that we have a junior college system in our state that would bring every young person in Virginia within one day's distance of one of those junior colleges. It was almost two hundred years before that vision and dream of Mr. Jefferson was fulfilled, because it was 1966 before we launched a comprehensive community college system that brought an educational opportunity at the higher education level to within not one day's reach of every Virginia student, but within one hour's distance of every college student. So the full circle had come and it took almost a bicentennial for it to be realized.

"Higher education must train citizens as well as artisans and mechanics, recognizing that every artisan and mechanic is also a citizen."

When I first became actively engaged as governor in promoting higher education back in the mid 1960's, most of our southern states were concerned with quality. Our motivator was the statistics from the Southern Regional Education Board indicating that our states were at the bottom of the list when it came to the percentage of young people who were actually enrolled in college. The rudest awakening that I had in the early months of my first term as governor was at an SREB meeting in Miami Beach. I remember so well as a new governor looking at some statistics that were put before us. When I saw where Virginia stood in this particular regard among our 18- to 21-year-old group and how few of our students in Virginia were exposed to any form of higher education, I thought indeed what a tragedy it was. Fortunately the progress we have made in Virginia in the last decade has been dramatic.

We were prompted further by the feeling of so many of our people that their sons and daughters were entitled to a college education as a requirement of life, not necessarily to achieve social status, but to be informed and enlightened — to try to make some contribution to the world of our time.

As wave after wave of industrial development swept over our states, we concerned ourselves, too, with the well-known quotation that a nation must give equal treatment to its plumbers and its philosphers; otherwise neither its pipes nor its theories would hold water.

And one by one we created community college systems, initially as vocational-technical schools to meet the demands

*Governor Godwin of Virginia is Chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board.

of our new industries and to provide the manpower for the continued expansion of American technology.

And in many of our states, finally, we asked these two-year colleges to perform a dual role — to prepare men and women for careers in which they would use their hands as well as their minds, and also where they would have the choice of access to college classrooms that would not have otherwise been available to them for lack of financing or convenience.

Today, many of our educators are asking if the emphasis we hear on education for careers is distorting the dual role that we set for ourselves with these two-year institutions.

Surely we need engineers and doctors and, just as surely, we need the technicians who can relieve them of so many routine duties and spread their abilities ever further and wider.

But it seems to me that we need above all else to re-examine in our own time Jefferson's concept that a college

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"Jefferson's concept was that young people could be trusted, in a free exchange of ideas, to decide . . . what was best . . ."

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education should prepare men and women to make intelligent and well-formed choices, not only about their own futures, but about the future of their state and their country.

Higher education must train citizens as well as artisans and mechanics, recognizing that every artisan and mechanic is also a citizen.

Modern communications technology has multiplied and at times distorted the messages to which we are all subjected. An entire new profession has come into being to project for us a series of positive images, whether entirely true or not. The advertisers study our emotions in order to convince us to buy their products.

These are part of modern America, too, and I do not disparage them. My conviction is that higher education should prepare our citizens to deal with them, to make the kind of intelligent, informed, independent judgments that Mr. Jefferson envisioned for the graduates of our own university in Virginia.

Jefferson's concept was that young people could be trusted, in a free exchange of ideas, to decide for themselves what was best for themselves and their new nation. He felt that in a comparison of economic systems or political systems, these young people would see the advantages of America's over any competitor.

I share that confidence in our young people today, and I feel the need is perhaps as urgent as it was in Jefferson's time.

If indeed we can expose our young people to a free exchange of ideas, free and open comparisons and open discussions on our campuses, where freedom of speech is accorded both students and those who are invited to speak, then I am willing to abide by the result.

I suggest then that as legislators it becomes a part of your responsibilities to see to it that free comparisons are made, that freedom of speech does prevail, and that the students themselves are, indeed, better equipped to make the complex decisions that are part of their present-day American heritage.

I know many of you are concerned, as I am and as many of our parents are, as to whether the money we are pouring into higher education is in fact producing better educated and better informed and better equipped young citizens.

I would not suggest that you attempt to legislate a free exchange of ideas, but I would suggest that all of us would

Governor Godwin

benefit by knowing more about our programs in higher education.

One of the more encouraging results of the current concern about accountability in higher education is the work now being done on new testing procedures that can measure for us, at least to some degree, the intellectual growth of the student as he passes through his classes.

We all have at our disposal, in continually mounting array, the input to our colleges and universities in terms of dollars. It seems to me our special need in these times is to have a better gauge of the output in terms of the students themselves.

As they express their thoughts to me, so many of our people seem to be looking for a breathing spell in their support of higher education, after the great outpouring of resources that we saw during the 60's.

They watched the riots on the campus, they followed the details of the subculture that seemed to result, and they wondered what it was that their tax dollars were buying.

The combination of recession and inflation which we are still experiencing made them even more conscious of the way their tax dollars were being spent.

But the word I hear from the campus is that the students have gone back to the books, convinced after questioning phase after phase of America's system, that perhaps it wasn't so bad after all.

I suggest to you that the time is right once again to take the field in favor of higher education, to be its champions as we have been through the years. I believe we must find a mechanism, some reliable means of measuring output in terms of the students themselves, to reassure ourselves and our people that the dollars we ask that they contribute are still a sound investment in a better America.

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Lanett

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Opelika

Arkansas

Representative Boyce Alford
Pine Bluff

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